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MILITARY-POLITICAL ISSUES

ECONOMIC, DEFENSE CAPABILITIES DISCUSSED

Moscow KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL in Russian No 7, Apr 81 (signed to press 18 Mar 81) pp 18-25

[Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences, Prof, Maj Gen A. Gurov: "The Economic Basis of the Motherland's Might"]

[Text] Our socialist motherland has entered the 1980's in a flourishing of its strength and might. Its international authority and influence on the processes of world development have increased immeasurably. A successful start was made on the first year of the 11th Five-Year Plan.

Among the components in the might of the Soviet Union, as was reaffirmed from the rostrum of the 26th CPSU Congress, the economy is in first place. And this is understandable. "For precisely in the economic area," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th Party Congress, "the foundation is laid down for solving the social problems and for strengthening the defense capability of the nation, and a foundation of an active foreign policy. Precisely here are created the necessary prerequisites for the successful advancement of Soviet society toward communism.

The achieved level in the development of the unified national economic complex, comprises the real economic might of the nation and its possibilities of satisfying the diverse, aggregate material requirements of society form the economic potential of our motherland. By the latter, one understands the economic capabilities of the USSR in fully and rationally utilizing the production apparatus and human resources with the highest labor productivity under the given conditions and considering the advantages of our social and state system.

The economy is the main sphere of a society's vital activities. To a crucial degree the level of economic development determines our ongoing advance toward communism, the strength of the example set by communism, the support for the liberation movement in the world, the preventing of a new world war and the secure defense of revolutionary victories. The satisfying of the vital requirements of the Soviet people is also linked with economic developments and with the steady and rapid progress of the national economy.

National economic development in the 1970's and in particular during the 10th Five-Year Plan, convincingly confirms the correctness of the party's economic strategy. Our nation advanced significantly in all areas of creating the material and technical

basis of communism. The productive forces of Soviet society achieved a qualitatively new level. The scientific and technical revolution developed in breadth and width, altering the appearance of many types of production and entire sectors. Soviet science holds leading positions in the most important areas of knowledge. The economic might of the nation dependably guarantees further progress on the path of communist construction.

For example, let us take a look at the following indicators. At present the USSR produces more industrial product than was produced by the entire world in 1950. The nation's industry now produces 12 million types of products. In the Tenth Five-Year Plan alone more than 1,200 industrial enterprises were put into operation. At present the USSR has over 40,000 large industrial enterprises, including around 4,000 production and scientific-production associations. On the basis of scientific achievements there has been further development or the new creation of such modern sectors as nuclear machine building, space technology, the electronics, microelectronics and microbiological industries, laser technology, the production of artificial diamonds as well as other new synthetic materials.

A characteristic feature of the 1970's was the major shift in the placement of the productive forces. In accord with the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, territorial-production complexes have been formed in the European RSFSR, in the Urals, Siberia, the Far East, Kazakhstan and Tajikistan.

The 1970's, as was pointed out at the 26th Party Congress, were a period of the constant growth of heavy industry. The output of the means of production rose on the same scale as over the previous 20 years. In comparison with the 1960's, the generation of electric power doubled. The Unified Siberian Power System was connected to the United Power System of the nation. An extensive program of machine building development has been carried out. In 1980, in comparison with 1970, its product has risen by 2.7-fold, the output of instruments by 3.3-fold and computer equipment by 10-fold.

An important element in the economic potential of the Soviet state is socialist agriculture which has become a highly developed sector. The productive capital of the 26,500 kolkhozes, 20,800 sovkhozes and other farms in the nationalized sector over the previous decade increased by almost 2.5-fold and is presently 212 billion rubles. In the Tenth Five-Year Plan, as was emphasized at the 26th CPSU Congress, the party's agrarian policy was consistently carried out. The material and technical base of agriculture was strengthened and this is presently acquiring an ever-more industrial appearance.

The national wealth and the quantity and quality of labor resources as the main productive force of society are elements of Soviet economic potential. By the beginning of 1980, the national wealth of the USSR exceeded 2.5 trillion rubles (not counting the value of land, mineral wealth and forests). And this was regardless of the enormous losses suffered by the nation in the Great Patriotic War. Over the years of Soviet power, the labor resources have substantially risen and changed qualitatively. The average annual number of employees in 1980 reached 112.5 million persons. This is almost 8-fold more than in 1913. But the quality of the labor resources has changed particularly substantially. Around 140 million Soviet citizens have a higher or secondary (complete and incomplete) education.

Thus, the Soviet Union has entered the 1980's possessing powerful economic and scientific-technical potentials as well as highly skilled and dedicated cadres. The achieved levels in the area of economic and social development make it possible to successfully carry out even vaster tasks, including the problem of further strengthening the defense capability of the nation.

The coming decade will be a new major stage in creating the material and technical base of communism, in developing social relations and shaping the new man. During these years the Communist Party will consistently continue to carry out its economic strategy, the highest goal of which is a continuous rise in the material and cultural standard of living of the people, and the creation of better conditions for the all-round development of the individual on a basis of further increasing the efficiency of social production, raising labor productivity as well as the social and labor activeness of the Soviet people. The materials of the 26th CPSU Congress starkly embody both the succession of the party's economic strategy as well as a realistic consideration of the specific conditions under which the nation will develop. The tasks of the 11th Five-Year Plan and the ways to carry them out have been determined precisely from this viewpoint.

The "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and for the Period Up to 1990" are characterized by a number of particular features. One of them is to utilize our existing production potential more completely and efficiently. "Truly enormous resources are tied up in the national economy," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress. "It has been repeatedly pointed out that the Soviet Union has emerged in first place in the world in terms of the production of many important types of products including oil and steel, cement and mineral fertilizers, wheat and cotton, mainline electric and diesel locomotives. We have the world's largest machine tool fleet. We surpass other nations in terms of the number of engineers. And, comrades, we can be proud of all of this.

"But the pride must be constantly accompanied by a feeling of high responsibility. Responsibility that the enormous potential created by the Soviet people is used economically and fully."

At present our further advancement to an ever-greater degree will depend upon the able and effective use of all existing resources, including labor, fixed capital, fuel, raw materials, and the products of the fields and livestock farms as well as upon an economic attitude toward the social good.

The 11th Five-Year Plan to a greater degree than the previous plans is linked to the long run. This is caused by the fact that a number of the specific national economic programs cover a period of several five-year plans. Hence, the 11th and subsequent five-year plans will differ from the previous ones not only in terms of various indicators but also in such "sectors of the main thrust" as the specific comprehensive programs. Among the first are the programs related to the further development of the fuel and energy complex, the savings of fuel and metal, the development of the agroindustrial complex, reducing manual labor, increasing consumer goods production and so forth. A number of comprehensive programs have also been outlined for solving scientific and technical problems on an intersectorial level and important tasks in the industrial sector. Certainly an indispensable prerequisite for carrying out the national economic tasks--both production and social--is the development of heavy industry. This is particularly true of its base sectors, primarily

the fuel-energy, metallurgy, construction, all types of transportation, and so forth.

Scientific and technical development should be to an ever-greater degree subordinate to solving the major problems of progress in Soviet society and to accelerating the conversion of the economy to the path of intensification. The ways have been outlined for raising scientific potential. A number of programs in the scientific and technical area will be developed and implemented. The time of creating and developing new equipment should be shortened; the reciprocal ties between science and production should be strengthened, and the material-technical and experimental-production facilities of the scientific research and experimental design organizations should be strengthened. The skill of the scientific personnel will rise and mass scientific and technical creativity will be developed all-round.

All that is advanced that has been created by scientific and engineering thought must without delay be developed and embodied in highly efficient, reliable machines, instruments and production lines of Soviet machine building. The development and actual use of industrial robots open up truly revolutionary opportunities.

The ever-wider use of space science in solving very complex national economic tasks is a vivid example of what modern science can provide the economy. Thus, in the new five-year plan, there will be the rapid introduction of progressive types of geographic and biochemical research on mineral wealth using high-altitude and space equipment for studying the natural resources of the earth.

The basic areas have also been defined for the development of social and natural sciences. The efforts of "major science," along with the elaboration of theoretical problems, should be focused primarily on solving the key national economic questions and on discoveries which are capable of making truly revolutionary changes in production. At present the introduction of scientific discoveries and inventions is a decisive and most acute area. Scientific research and experimental design are closely interlocked both economically and organizationally with production. We have fine examples of this such as the ZIL [Motor Vehicle Plant imeni Likhachev] in Moscow, the LOMO [Leningrad Optical Equipment Association] and Elektrosila [Electric Power] in Leningrad, the Institute imeni Ye. O. Paton in Kiev and many others.

The new production structure is being shaped in accord with the growing social needs. Thus, the basic directions for the following five-year plan establish a certain acceleration in the development rate of the "B" group and it will somewhat exceed the growth rate of the "A" group. The task is to create the production of consumer goods and services for the public which is modern and meets the needs of the people. New indicators are to be introduced for evaluating the operation of industry and individual enterprises considering the growth of production and the rise in product quality. Such a criterion will become the major one for all the sectors, associations and enterprises.

As before, heavy industry holds a special place in the nation's economy. Its main sectors which form the industrial base are the fuel and energy complex, metallurgy, machine building and the chemical and oil refining industries. The party gives close attention to their constant increase. These sectors are not only of national economic but also defense significance.

The Soviet Union has achieved enormous successes in industrial development. It is the only state in the world which bases its economic potential on its own mineral wealth. During the 11th Five-Year Plan, the nation's raw material base will be significantly strengthened.

As is known, metallurgy is the basic supplier of structural materials in machine building and in producing all types of industrial products. For example, modern equipment employs more than 70 metals and around 10,000 various alloys. At the same time the development of metallurgy requires not only a rise in the quantity but mainly an improvement in the quality of metal (new grades of steel and alloys, all sorts of bent, shaped and high-precision rolled products, low-alloyed sheet and plate with protective coverings, with increased resistance to wear and corrosion, particularly pure and special metals and so forth).

Machine building is the core of industry. The rapid development of all types of equipment, including military, requires from this base sector of the Soviet economy a high level of development, efficiency and adaptability to the production of new models.

In the plan for the immediate future, the agroindustrial complex has been viewed for the first time as an independent element of the economy. Its enormous significance is that without food and agricultural raw materials a rise in many sectors of the domestic economy is inconceivable. Along with agricultural development, the section on the agroindustrial complex provides for balanced growth for many other sectors which depend on it and influence its development.

The present program of social development and raising the prosperity of the Soviet people is also marked by a number of particular features. For the first time it draws attention to creating the best conditions for highly productive labor such as strengthening its creative nature, the greatest possible reduction in manual, unskilled and heavy physical labor and strengthening control over the measure of labor and the measure of consumption.

As is known, the constantly growing scale of our economy requires constantly new manpower. The infrastructure and the service sphere also need a significant quantity. This problem can be solved by replacing manual labor in the national economic sectors by highly productive machinery and mechanisms. Specific tasks have been posed for science and these involve developing automata, robots, manipulators and a new generation of highly productive materials handling equipment and mechanisms.

Scientific and technical progress also requires a rise in manpower skills. For this reason important tasks have been posed for the secondary school in the area of vocational guidance for the youth. In 1981-1985, 13 million specialists should be graduated with a vocational-technical education and 10 million persons with a specialized secondary and higher education.

In the new five-year plan, an important place will be given over to shifting the centers for the extraction of raw material and a number of major types of production to Siberia, the North, the Far East and Kazakhstan. The economy of the Union republics will begin to develop even more dynamically in the unified national economic complex. The sectorial and territorial development of the economy will be more profoundly coordinated.

Particular attention is to be given to raising the role of planning as the central element in national economic management and as the chief instrument for implementing the party's economic policy. The role of long-range planning is to be increased. It should be aimed at achieving high end national economic results and will take into account the increased production scale, the more complex economic ties and the requirements of the scientific and technical revolution. This will make it possible to broaden the search for the optimum, most efficient ways for solving major economic and social problems.

A fundamentally new feature in the development of the Soviet nation during the post-war years and a factor in the growth of it might have been the fact that the USSR is carrying out historically important economic and defense tasks not alone but together with the other socialist countries. The economic growth rates of the CEMA members, as was pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress, during the last decade was double that of the developed capitalist nations. At the meeting held on 5 December 1980 by the leaders of the Warsaw Pact states, the determination was emphasized to strengthen the unity of the socialist countries on a basis of Marxism-Leninism and international solidarity. The participants of the meeting were in favor of the further development of economic and scientific-technical cooperation, for coordinating the plans in the interest of socialist and communist construction in the countries of the commonwealth and for a rise in the material well-being of their peoples.

The defense capability of the USSR and to a good degree also the entire socialist commonwealth and the opportunities of resisting aggressive imperialist policy depend directly upon economic achievements.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev isolated three main interrelated factors in the might of the USSR. "The first factor," he pointed out, "is the development of our nation's economic might. Without this it is impossible to carry out the program of communist construction and to dependably ensure the security of our motherland....

"The second factor which determines the might of our state is the Armed Forces. As our economy has grown, the necessary conditions have been created for strengthening the military might of our Armed Forces.

"The third factor is our political line.... The policy of peace is the basis of our foreign policy. We know that we will win even a peaceful competition. But the old world does not want to leave the scene so simply, without a struggle. For this reason the process of the class struggle on the international scene is continuing."

The 11th Five-Year Plan, like the previous ones, has a peace focus. The Communist Party consistently carries out a policy of detente and disarmament and of implementing the Peace Program proposed at the 24th and 25th party congresses and developed by the 26th Congress. The CPSU Central Committee and its Politburo constantly carry out this course. The outstanding politician of modern times, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, has made an enormous contribution to the struggle for peace. This is convincingly seen from his indefatigable activities for the sake of peace and progress.

However, our achievements, the growth of the international prestige of the USSR and the successes of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism in the world are clearly not to the liking of the reactionary circles of the imperialist states.

The world of socialism achieved a military-strategic equilibrium with the world of capitalism and this has been the main factor restraining the military plans of imperialism.

But the aggressive imperialist circles would like to upset this equilibrium and achieve military superiority over socialism. In disseminating the myth of the "Soviet military threat" the leaders of the United States and a number of other NATO nations have intentionally sought to exacerbate the international situation and intensify the arms race. Even in the 1981 fiscal year, the U.S. military outlays will exceed 170 billion dollars, and in the following year of 1982, they will reach the astronomical figure of over 220 billion dollars. In siding with the aggressive policy of imperialism, the Chinese hegemonists are also increasing the arms race and are actively preparing for what, in their opinion, is an inevitable world war.

Under these conditions, in remaining faithful to the policy of peace and friendship with all peoples, we cannot help but be concerned for the greatest possible strengthening of our defense capability. Even at the Ninth Party Congress, V. I. Lenin said that "our steps to peace should be accompanied by an intensification of all our military preparations" (PSS [Complete Collected Works], Vol 40, p 248). At present, in carrying out this order of V. I. Lenin, the party is taking effective measures to strengthen the defense might of the nation. The development of the economy and science in the USSR is subordinate to peaceful aims. But it also ensures the defense needs of the state. In relying on the advantages of the socialist system and the achievements of scientific and technical progress, the Soviet national economy fully satisfies the needs of the Army and Navy for effective means to conduct combat operations. "As for our defenses," commented Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "we spend exactly as much on it as is needed for the dependable security of the USSR and for the joint defense of the victories of socialism with the fraternal countries...."

Economic potential operates as a general basis for satisfying the entire aggregate of needs in a developed socialist society, including the military needs which have their own specific features. Military organizational development is most closely tied to the problem of the efficient use of material, human and financial resources.

V. I. Lenin, in defining the concrete areas for building the material and technical base of socialism, required the most careful assessment of the economic effectiveness of all national economic measures. He paid particular attention to the national use of resources in the interests of strengthening the defense might of the nation. "The cause of the defense of the Soviet republic," emphasized V. I. Lenin, "urgently necessitates the greatest savings of forces and the most productive use of the people's labor" (PSS, Vol 37, p 367).

In describing the incessant activities of the CPSU to strengthen the defense capability of the Soviet state, the USSR Minister of Defense, Mar SU D. F. Ustinov, stressed: "The party strictly follows Lenin's instructions on the dialectical unity of the economic, scientific-technical, moral-political and military potentials as the basic components of the state's defense might."

Under present-day conditions, this unity has become even closer and more diverse. The scientific and technical revolution has a decisive impact on this process, and

It has significantly accelerated the economic development of the state and ensured a dependable strengthening of its defense capability. This is all the more important, because, as was pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress, rapid and profound changes are occurring in the development of military equipment.

The economic development of the nation, as is known, influences the military might of the Armed Forces primarily through their material and technical base.

In relying on the achievements of the socialist economy, science and technology, the CPSU has elaborated a scientifically based military technical policy the implementation of which has made it possible to safeguard the security of our motherland. The CPSU together with the fraternal parties of the other socialist nations has implemented measures aimed at defending our entire community.

The party promptly realized the role of nuclear missiles in ensuring the security of the nation. The introduction of radio electronics and jet equipment, atomic power units and automatic control systems into the Armed Forces has also been of important significance. All of this has led to a situation where the Army and Navy possess the most modern military equipment and weapons to properly carry out the tasks of defending the peaceful labor of the Soviet people. "We have not sought and do not seek military superiority over the other side," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress. "This is not our policy. But we also will not permit the creation of such superiority over us. Such attempts as well as dealing with us from a position of strength are absolutely futile."

The second element in the military might of the Armed Forces is the size and quality of the personnel and this is determined by the moral-political state and training level of the troops, by the skills of the command personnel and by the development level of military science. The economic policy of the CPSU, in helping to overcome substantial socioclass differences in society, in unity with the nationality and demographic policy, actively influences the "human material" which comprises the decisive force of the Army and Navy.

The Soviet Armed Forces are constantly receiving personnel who are ideologically tempered and spiritually and physically developed. The fundamental changes in the material sphere and in all areas of military affairs have been accompanied by qualitative changes in the Army and Navy personnel.

However, the military and technical revolution places now even higher demands on the engineering-technical and economic training of not only the officers but also all personnel. Ever-new types of military specialties are arising. At present they number more than 2,000 (there were 15-20 in 1914, 160 in 1945 and 400 in 1960).

The appearance of new weapons of colossal destructive power has placed increased demands upon the moral-military qualities of the personnel and upon their ability to master the military equipment for achieving victory over the enemy. For this reason, the conclusion of V. I. Lenin on the role of man in war, as affirmed by historical practice has fully maintained its importance at present. Victory is achieved not only by weapons and equipment, even the most powerful and advanced, but also by people who are totally dedicated to the party, to the Soviet people and to their duty, who have mastered the modern military equipment and weapons and are able to employ them in any, even the most complicated situation.

Under these conditions the role of troop control has increased immeasurably. As a result of the socioeconomic and spiritual changes which have occurred in our society, the general educational, cultural and technical level of all the personnel has increased significantly. This, naturally, requires a broad general viewpoint, professional knowledge and pedagogical skill from the commanders and political workers.

Profound qualitative changes are occurring in the very nature and content of military service. It is becoming a type of creative and highly intellectual labor which requires the skillful use of modern means of control. Under the influence of scientific and technical progress, not only has there been a change in the technical equipping of the units and subunits but also there has been a further differentiation of military service.

As a consequence of the fact that the means of armed combat are constantly being improved, the new forms and methods of conducting combat operations have also undergone further development. Hence, the responsibility of the commanders and the political workers has increased immeasurably for the leadership and control over the troops.

In conducting a consistent struggle for peace, for lessening tension and for checking the arms race, the CPSU and the Soviet government have constantly kept at the center of attention the questions of ensuring the reliable security of our nation. Such a unity of peace-lovingness and a readiness to decisively rebuff any aggression by the imperialists comprises the basis of our economic and military development.

"In the report period," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress, "the party and the state did not lose sight of the questions of strengthening the nation's defense might and its Armed Forces for a single day. The international situation requires this of us.

"A firm fusion of high technical equipping, military skill and unshakable morale--this is the military potential of the Soviet Armed Forces."

Magnificent prospects for the development of Soviet society and of its economy, science and culture are opened up in the 11th Five-Year Plan. The successful carrying out of the five-year plan, as was pointed out in the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, will bring about a further rise in the nation's economic potential, an increase in the prosperity of the people and the maintaining of the defense might of the Soviet state on a proper level. This will further raise its international prestige and will help to strengthen the world system of socialism and to unify all the forces fighting for peace and social progress.

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ARMED FORCES

YEPISHEV COMMENTS ON 26TH PARTY CONGRESS

Moscow KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL in Russian No 7, Apr 81 (signed to press 18 Mar 81) pp 9-17

[Article by Arm Gen A. Yepishev, chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy: "The Vanguard of the Builders of Communism"]

[Text] All the successes of the Soviet people in building communism are inseparable from the leading and organizing role of the Leninist party. "The 26th Congress has again shown," said the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "that the CPSU is a powerful, healthy and mature collective. The communists are the truly unbendable core of our society, its vital soul. It is truly the revolutionary vanguard of the people."

Party leadership over all aspects of social life is constantly being enriched in reflecting the growing scale of communist awareness and the demands of the times. It has assumed a truly all-encompassing nature under the conditions of developed socialism. At present there is no area of economic, political, cultural or military work which is not covered by the directing and organizing influence of the party. In embodying the collective reason and creative will of our people, the party ensures the carrying out of the economic and social tasks of communist construction, the indoctrination of a new man, the functioning of the political system of Soviet society and its constant improvement.

The CPSU is a party of scientific communism. In being based on revolutionary teachings and on the Leninist principles of party leadership, the party, its Central Committee and the Central Committee Politburo headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev skillfully define the basic thing in work and find the most effective methods of achieving the set goals. Party congresses as it were set the general course for the ongoing development of Soviet society. The Central Committee plenums play a major role in carrying out the urgent tasks of communist construction. Over the 5 years which have passed since the 25th Congress, there have been 11 Central Committee plenums which thoroughly examined many questions of domestic and foreign policy.

The chief area of the revolutionarily transforming activities of the CPSU is national economic leadership. Here, in the economic sphere, the foundation is put down for solving social problems, for strengthening the defense capability of the nation and for an active foreign policy.

Over the last decade, the Soviet people under party leadership have moved substantially forward in all areas of creating the material and technical base of communism. At present, our society possesses a powerful socialist industry and developed agriculture. The share of the USSR in world industrial production is 20 percent. We produce more iron and steel than any other nation; we extract more oil (including gas condensate), iron and manganese ores and so forth. Agriculture has achieved high goals.

The productive forces of the nation have risen to a qualitatively new level. The scientific and technical revolution is developing in breadth and depth, changing the appearance of many types of production and entire sectors. We have further developed or created anew such modern sectors as nuclear machine building, space technology, the electronic, microelectronic and microbiological industries, laser technology, synthetic diamond production as well as the production of other new synthetic materials.

Major changes have occurred in the location of the productive forces. Gigantic integrated programs which transform vast territories are being successfully carried out. Among them are the development programs for the Nonchernozem Zone of Russia and Western Siberia, the industrial development programs for Siberia and the Far East.

The "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and for the Period Up to 1990" worked out by the CPSU Central Committee and approved by the 26th Congress embody the continuity of the party's Leninist course and the constancy of its strategic aims. To provide further growth in the prosperity of the Soviet people on the basis of steady, ongoing development of the national economy, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the conversion of the economy to an intensive development path, the more rational utilization of the nation's production potential, the greatest possible savings of all types of resources and an improvement in work quality--this is the main task of the 11th Five-Year Plan.

The party links the successful carrying out of this task to the development of the base industrial sectors and to an improvement in the national economic proportions. In the interest of increasing the output of consumer goods during the current five-year plan, there is to be a certain acceleration in the development rate of the sectors in the "B" group in comparison with the sectors of the "A" group. At the same time, the role of heavy industry will be increased in producing industrial articles for the public.

To produce more, quicker, cheaper and better--this general imperative of the times was expressed by the 26th CPSU Congress in specific quotas for all elements of the agroindustrial complex. The development of this complex which must implement a broad food program outlined by the party is an important element in the party's present agrarian policy. Over the 5 years, average annual production of agricultural product should increase by 12-14 percent. All agricultural sectors will undergo substantial development. An increase in the production of grain and feed and an improvement in their quality will make it possible to increase the output of meat, milk and other valuable products.

The party is logically continuing a long-term line of the greatest possible and steady rise in the standard of living of the Soviet people. It ensures a comprehensive approach to solving the important socioeconomic problems of a developed socialist society which touch upon all aspects of the labor and life of man. There are plans to implement a system of measures aimed at creating the best conditions for highly productive labor, to strengthen its creative nature and to reduce as much as possible the sphere where manual, unskilled and heavy physical labor is employed.

The activities of the CPSU are totally determined by the interests of developing society and the human personality. Both the increase in economic capacity, the improvement in social relationships and the constant rise in the prosperity of the people are aimed at implementing the party's program slogan "All for the Sake of Man, All for the Good of Man." For the 11th Five-Year Plan and the 1980's as a whole, the party has proposed an extensive program which encompasses an improvement in all aspects of the life of the Soviet people--consumption and housing, culture and recreation, living and working conditions. In national income, the proportional amount of the consumption fund is to rise from 75.3 percent in 1980 up to 77.3 percent in 1985.

Of course, nothing comes free. Any improvement in living conditions can be achieved only by the intense labor of the Soviet people themselves. Mature socialism provides the widest opportunities to disclose the capabilities of each citizen. The question is to realize these possibilities. Having emphasized that everyone is capable of free, creative labor, labor for oneself and for one's society, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev expressed the firm conviction that the plans outlined by the 26th Party Congress will be not only fulfilled but overfulfilled.

Under conditions of mature socialism, the relationship of economic progress with the development of the socioclass structure of society and national relations is becoming ever-closer. Here the main trend is that with each year there is an increase in the size and labor activity of the working class as the leading force of Soviet society. At present, the nation has around 80 million workers or two-thirds of the employed population. Their general educational level and professional training are rising. The labor of a worker more and more is assuming an intellectual content.

As agriculture is industrialized, profound changes are also occurring in the life of the peasantry. The essential differences in the social position of the worker and peasant are being overcome and this is related primarily to the gradual integration of the two forms of socialist ownership--national and kolkhoz-cooperative. In the countryside there are more and more equipment operators and other workers who operate modern equipment. The number of kolkhoz workers with a secondary (complete and incomplete) and higher education has increased over the last decade from 39 to 60-plus percent.

The rapid growth of the intelligentsia is among the most important social changes in our society. At present one out of every four workers is basically involved in mental labor. Not only in science, education and culture but also in material production the intelligentsia is playing an evermore significant role.

The decisions of the 26th Party Congress provide a profound analysis of the processes characterizing the development of national relations in our country. Under the conditions of mature socialism, the development of the socialist nations is accelerating and the integration of the Soviet peoples is being intensified. The course of the Leninist party in this area has ensured a rise in the material and spiritual potential of each republic and at the same time its maximum use for the harmonious development of the entire country. The existing resources are being put into circulation on a planned basis, the rational specialization and integrated development of the republic economies are being guaranteed and the exchange of modern scientific-technical achievements and advanced experience is being extended. The party sees its sacred duty in indoctrinating the workers in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and Soviet internationalism and a proud feeling of belonging to the united, great Soviet motherland.

The 26th Party Congress also set tasks in the area of further improving the political system. With the adoption of the new USSR Constitution, there has been a noticeable increase in the activities of the higher bodies of power such as the USSR Supreme Soviet and the republic supreme soviets. Much of interest has appeared in the work of the local soviets. The activities of people's control, the trade unions and the Komsomol have increased.

In concentrating its efforts on the problems of the creation of communism, the party has not overlooked the questions of strengthening the defense might of the nation and its Armed Forces. The present international situation obliges us to do this.

The policy of the aggressive imperialist forces has already led to a significant rise in tension throughout the world. The reactionary circles of the United States and the other NATO countries are endeavoring to disrupt the existing military-strategic equilibrium in their favor and to deploy new American medium-range missiles in the Western European countries. Trends toward militarization are developing in Japan. The rapprochement of the foreign policy course of the Chinese leaders and the policy of imperialism is becoming a reality.

In consistently defending the cause of peace, the CPSU maintains constant vigilance against the intentions and actions of the militant reaction. Due to the concern of the party and all the people, the Soviet Army and Navy possess everything necessary for securely defending the motherland and the victories of socialism. "A strong fusion of high technical equipping, military skill and unbreakable morale," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the congress, "this is the military potential of the Soviet Armed Forces."

Along with the development of Soviet society and the change in its sociopolitical and cultural appearance, the communist party has been growing, becoming stronger and maturing. In light of the impressive achievements of developed socialism, the well-known Leninist formula that the party is the mind, honor and conscience of our era, assumes even more profound meaning.

"From the experience of the past and present, we are well aware," commented Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in his speech at the closing of the 26th CPSU Congress, "that the role of a leading force in a society does not come by itself. This role is earned and won in the course of a constant, ongoing struggle for the interests of the

workers. And this role is reinforced by the fact that the party constantly deepens its ties with the masses of people and lives for their needs and concerns."

At present the party has a membership of 17,480,000 communists. This is a strong, smoothly operating, constantly developing sociopolitical organism which is headed by the Leninist Central Committee and unites around itself all the Soviet people and confidently directs them to the single bright goal of building communism.

By its nature the CPSU has been and remains a party of the working class. This is determined by its leading position in all spheres in the life of a socialist state. Having provided the victory of socialism, the working class preserves and multiplies the qualities inherent to it as a creator class and the decisive force of social progress. It is quite natural that the proportional amount of the workers in the party should correspond to the proportional amount of the working class as the most numerous in Soviet society as well as its leading economic and sociopolitical role. Over the past 5 years, over 1.5 million of the best representatives of the working class have joined the ranks of the CPSU, and this is 59 percent of the total of new party members. At present the workers comprise 43.4 percent of the party membership.

Our party has always incorporated and does incorporate the leading part of the kolkhoz peasantry in its ranks. At present 12.8 percent of the communists are kolkhoz members. The party also considers the growing social role of the workers in mental labor in furthering the scientific and technical revolution, in raising the spiritual culture of the people and in carrying out all the tasks of communist construction. At present 43.8 percent of the party membership are representatives of the technical, scientific and creative intelligentsia, educational, public health and cultural workers, administrators and servicemen.

Under the conditions of developed socialism, when the Soviet people are historically a new social and international community of people, the ideological conviction of the communists, their labor and social activeness, professional skills and moral maturity are the most important characteristics of the qualitative composition of the party. The authority of the Leninist party is high. The number of persons desiring to join it is growing. For this reason the approach to admitting new party members has become more exacting. The candidate period is being better used to check the political, professional and moral qualities of the applicants.

The monolithic unity of the CPSU and its ability to head Soviet society and confidently lead the Soviet people along the path to communism are attained by the great exactingness placed on each communist. The party is intolerant of those who behave unworthily and violate the party by-laws and the standards of party morality. With Leninist zeal it protects the purity of its ranks and makes no concessions to anyone when it is a question of party honor and authority.

The youth are constantly joining the party. This visibly expresses the succession of the generations of communists who are the protectors of the revolutionary spirit and the glorious traditions of the Leninist party. Among the young party members there has been an increase in the number of young men and women who have undergone the schooling of political and moral tempering in the Komsomol organizations. Almost three-quarters of those who have joined the party over the last 5 years have been Komsomol members.

If one analyzes the influx of fresh forces into the party organizations of the Army and Navy, then we will also see the best soldiers, the outstanding men in military and political training and the class specialists among the young communists. In their majority they serve directly in the line subunits and on the warships. Greater attention has been paid to recruiting into the party the students and officer candidates of the military schools, the warrant officers ["praporshchik" and "michman"] and the Komsomol activists. An individual approach in the future will remain the cornerstone for controlling the influx of young forces into the party organizations.

In solving the great and diverse tasks of building communism, a primary role is played by the primary party organizations. At present they number 414,000 in the CPSU. They are active in all areas of economic and cultural construction and in the labor and military collectives. The success of any undertaking depends upon how they carry out their responsible obligations and upon the example set by the communists in work and behavior.

The party places great demands upon its every member. However, the 26th CPSU Congress has given particular attention to the questions of improving the qualitative composition and placement of the leading party cadres and to improving their skills. The task has been set so that the comrades promoted to leading party work gain good political preparation and from their own personal experience know the life of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia as well as their needs and interests. This task is an urgent one under the conditions of the Armed Forces.

The Army and Navy political bodies and party organizations show great concern for indoctrinating our officers, generals and admirals and help them master Marxist-Leninist theory and the Leninist style of leadership. It is a question of indoctrinating commanders who would combine in their activities high exactingness, decisiveness and unbending will with a sincere, paternal concern for subordinates and rely continuously on the party and Komsomol organizations and on the strength of the Army and Navy community.

It is a service duty of a communist commander to ably direct the work of a party organization. This obliges him to be constantly in the thick of the party masses, to listen to their voice, to promptly direct them to carrying out the set tasks and to help create conditions whereby the activeness and creative abilities of the party members and candidate members would be given full rein and there would be a sharper feeling of personal responsibility of each man for the state of affairs in the subunit, unit and ship. The dependable way to fully eradicate such negative phenomena as a negligent attitude toward service, complacency, laxness, indulgences and oversimplification in military training lies in the strict observance of the Leninist standards of party life and in further developing internal party democracy.

The 26th CPSU Congress devoted great attention to the problem of improving management on all levels. In this area its fundamental provisions are of exceptional significance for the activities of the military personnel as well. The party organizations must more specifically help all the officers raise the level of troop leadership and master the Leninist style of work. In acting as the agents of organization and aware discipline, they, along with the commanders and political bodies, conduct great political indoctrination in the masses of troops and unite the battle order.

The party meetings devoted to discussing the decisions of the CPSU Congress have become a real review of the militancy of the Army and Navy party organizations. These meetings were held in a situation of high activity and again demonstrated the monolithic solidarity of the communists and all the personnel of the Armed Forces with the Leninist party Central Committee and its Politburo headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. They showed the ardent approval and full support by the Soviet military for the party's domestic and foreign policy.

In light of the decisions of the 26th Congress, there must be a further improvement in internal party work. Where the party organizations strictly observe the standards of party life, where they protect the purity of their ranks, where internal party democracy is maintained on a proper level, where the urgent problems of political, organizational and ideological work are discussed at the meetings actively and in a business-like way and where criticism and self-criticism are developed, here broad scope is provided for manifesting the strengths and abilities of each communist and here their vanguard role is higher.

In order to carry out the congress decisions in practical affairs, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized, the party organizations have enormous work to do. For this first of all there must be a high feeling of responsibility and firm, truly communist, aware discipline. Equally essential, of course, are inspired thought, the constant search for the new and support for this new. There must be constant initiative, initiative everywhere and in everything. The party is confident that the creative charge provided by the congress will enrich the work of each collective and the entire nation.

The party organizations contain an enormous strength which helps to successfully carry out the tasks confronting the Army and Navy. In the communists these organizations increase the feeling of responsibility for the state of discipline and the combat capability of their units, ships and subunits and they indoctrinate in them a readiness for independence and enterprising actions and the ability to be true leaders and organizers of the masses of servicemen.

The 26th Party Congress thoroughly examined the urgent questions of ideological and political indoctrination. Being a means for controlling social processes, ideological work encompasses all the basic spheres of social life. It includes the elaboration of a broad range of theoretical scientific problems caused by the construction of a new society as well as the solving of a number of practical organizational tasks related to the fact that the revolutionary teachings have taken possession of the masses and have become an effective material force.

In the stage of developed socialism, the ideological and political indoctrination activities of the party have developed under favorable conditions. The material and technical base of communism is being successfully created, social relationships are being improved, the material and cultural standard of living of the Soviet people is rising and socialist democracy is being broadened and deepened on the basis of the new USSR Constitution. The sociopolitical and ideological unity of our society has become even stronger. Soviet man has become different. His knowledge has been enriched, his erudition increased while his spiritual needs have risen significantly. All of this has made it possible to carry out more complicated and extensive tasks in the area of the communist indoctrination of the workers.

Of enormous significance for increasing the efficiency of the party's ideological influence on the masses are the development of revolutionary theory, a scientific explanation of social processes and the prompt setting of long-term goals. "The Marxist-Leninist party cannot carry out its role," commented the Accountability Report of the Party Central Committee to the 26th CPSU Congress "if it does not pay proper attention to analyzing all that is occurring, to generalizing new phenomena of life and to creatively developing Marxist-Leninist theory."

In recent years, the theoretical and ideological activities of the party have been exceptionally fruitful. After the 25th Party Congress, its theoretical arsenal was replenished by a number of important generalizations and conclusions. Among them was the elaboration of the concept of developed socialism. In relying on this concept, the party has clarified and concretized the ways and times for carrying out its program objectives and has defined strategy and tactics for an extended historical period. A solution has been provided to the diverse tasks related to a rise in the prosperity of the people and the ways have been established for improving economic and social planning. Works have been created which analyze the experience of world socialism. There has been further elaboration of the questions related to studying the patterns of the world revolutionary process and international relations. In the theoretical work of the party, an analysis of the present stage in the general crisis of capitalism has held a significant place.

Success in the ideological and political indoctrination of the masses cannot now be counted on without constant support for the ideological and propaganda activity from the theoretical conclusions of our party and from the recent achievements of Marxist-Leninist thought. However, as was pointed out at the Congress, far from all areas of social sciences are satisfactory. The inclination for scholastic theorizing has still not been overcome.

Proceeding from the demands of the 26th Congress on the development of scientific thought, much remains to be done for increasing the effectiveness of research in the area of military theory. The urgent problems of Marxist-Leninist teachings about war and the army, Soviet military organizational development, military art, the training and indoctrination of the troops require further elaboration.

The Communist Party possesses an enormous arsenal of resources making it possible to conduct ideological indoctrination widely, systematically and purposefully. At present, there are over four periodicals for every Soviet family. Books are produced in runs of many million. Virtually the entire country is covered by the radio network. Tens of millions of people can view the Soviet TV broadcasts. Ideological and political work is conducted by millions of propagandists, lecturers, agitators and political information reporters. In the spiritual life of the people an enormous role is played by literature and art which are socialist in content, national in form and internationalist in spirit.

The rapid development of the mass information media provides an opportunity to inform the entire public efficiently and virtually instantly of the major events of international and domestic life. At the same time this poses new conditions both for the press, radio and TV workers as well as for the propagandists and lecturers. The Soviet man, as was emphasized at the 26th Party Congress, is an educated, cultured person. For this reason, all ideological indoctrination should be conducted

in a lively and interesting manner, without pat phrases and a standard set of ready-made formulas.

A rise in the effectiveness of ideological work requires a profound penetration into the fine points of human psychology and a more powerful impact on the consciousness and feelings of people, on the results of their labor and social activities. In essence it is a question of revising many sectors and spheres of ideological work. Its content should become more pertinent and the forms should meet the present needs and demands of the Soviet people. The tasks of improving ideological and political indoctrination have been put forward in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee of 26 April 1979. This, the congress pointed out, is a document of long-term importance.

The essential features of ideological work under present-day conditions are related to the acute struggle in the spiritual sphere between the two opposing sociopolitical systems, socialism and capitalism. As was pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress, the propaganda media of the class enemy have become more active and it has begun to make a stronger effort to have a disruptive effect on the conscience of the Soviet people.

The main object of the ideological struggle is man with his thoughts, feelings, aspirations and moods. The ideologists of imperialism are focusing particular efforts on falsifying and distorting the ideas and policy of the Leninist party. And this is certainly no accident. In knowing what a place our party holds in all social, economic and political life of the nation, they would like by all sorts of ideological subversion and slanderous insinuation to undermine the authority of the CPSU and weaken its leading role. These are hopeless attempts!

From the time that the great Lenin founded our party, it has moved steadily along the path outlined by him for building socialism and communism. How many times during this period, said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, has inevitable failure been predicted for us? How many times have they tried to force us to abandon our set goals? How many times have our enemies tried to convince us that we are in error and that our path is wrong.... But socialism lives! It is developing. It is moving steadily forward. And we do not merely believe but firmly know that our highest goal will also be achieved and a communist society will be built! We are convinced of this because we believe in the sacred truth of our ideals. We are convinced of this because we are aware of the inexhaustible might of our people. We are confident of this because we know that the Marxist-Leninist course of our party is a true course.

The international activities of the Leninist party have been an object of constant attack by the imperialist bourgeoisie and its revisionistic yes-men. But no one has been able to compromise the truly internationalist course of the CPSU and to isolate it from the other revolutionary sources of the modern world. This is convincingly confirmed by the very fact that the 26th Congress of our party was attended by the largest ever number of delegations of communist, worker and other revolutionary parties. The speeches of the foreign comrades further reinforced our confidence in the inexorability of social progress and in the irreversibility of the revolutionary transformation of the world.

The 26th CPSU Congress was an important marker in the history of the party and Soviet society, an event of enormous world historical significance. The course and results

of its work are at the center of attention of the entire party and all the people as well as the world progressive community.

The entire congress was held in a spirit of unity and solidarity which make the CPSU mighty and invincible and are the guarantee for all our victories. The party in the future will carefully protect and strengthen the unity of its ranks. It intends to focus all its energies in two interrelated areas: the creation of communism and the strengthening of peace.

The decisions and materials of the congress are a powerful impetus for new accomplishments and for raising all ideological and political indoctrination to a qualitatively new level. The task at present is to bring the congress decisions to each party organization, to each communist, and to all the personnel of the Army and Navy. A profound assimilation of the ideological wealth contained in the report and speech of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and in other congress materials presupposes a vivid demonstration of the growing role of the Communist Party under the conditions of mature socialism and the results of its activities in directing the national economy, the sociopolitical development of society and the defense of socialist victories as well as a disclosure of the prospects and main directions in the present stage of communist construction.

The scientific analysis and class assessment of the contemporary international situation by the congress show the unchanged aggressive essence of imperialism and the forces siding with it as well as the increased military threat. This obliges the commanders, the political bodies and the party organizations to carry out ideological and political work in such a manner that each serviceman is profoundly aware of the needs to further increase the defense capability of our socialist fatherland and to strengthen in every possible way the Armed Forces and their readiness to decisively rebuff any aggression.

"At present in the ranks of the defenders of the motherland," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in the Accountability Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th Party Congress "are now serving the sons and grandsons of the heroes of the Great Patriotic War. They have not experienced the severe testing which befell their fathers and grandfathers. But they are loyal to the heroic traditions of our army and our people. And each time that the interests of national security and the defense of peace so require, when the victims of aggression must be aided, the Soviet soldier stands before the world as a selfless and courageous patriot, an internationalist ready to overcome any difficulties."

In these words of the leader of our party and state one finds a worthy assessment of the intense work of the commanders, the political workers and the party organizations of the Army and Navy. These words also contain a program for further, even more efficient work aimed at indoctrinating ideologically strong, aware and able men of the Armed Forces as a reliable guard for the creative labor of the Soviet people and as a bastion of universal peace.

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ARMED FORCES

IMPORTANCE OF MILITARY OATH

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[Article by Candidate of Legal Sciences, Col Just V. Gushchin: "The Military Oath-- A Law in the Life of Each Soldier"*)]

[Text] With all their heart the servicemen have welcomed the confidence expressed by L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th Congress that the glorious defenders of the motherland in the future will reliably guard the peaceful, creative labor of the Soviet people. Confronted with the real military danger deriving from the ruling circles of the imperialist states, these challenging words inspire each of us to be even more acutely aware of our personal responsibility to the party and the nation for maintaining the Armed Forces in a state of combat readiness guaranteeing an immediate rebuff of any aggressor.

One of the indispensable conditions for the successful carrying out of their historic purpose by the Soviet Army and Navy is a further strengthening of military discipline and law and order in them and indoctrinating the personnel in a spirit of the irreproachable fulfillment of the military oath which contains the basic requirements placed upon the defenders of the motherland by the Communist Party, by the Soviet state and the people.

The military oath is a solemn vow by a serviceman to faithfully and irreproachably carry out his duty. It reflects the interests of the Soviet people who are creating communism and the noble tasks of our glorious Armed Forces as defined by the nation's Basic Law [Constitution].

Like the Soviet Armed Forces, the military oath has its own history. The first regiments of the Worker-Peasant Red Army organized at the beginning of 1918, in going into battle against the interventionists and White Guards, vowed loyalty to the revolution. The texts of this vow varied, but there was one idea: the workers and

*The article is recommended for use in the system of commander training in studying the subject "The Work of Commanders and Chiefs in Indoctrinating Servicemen in a Spirit of the Unfailing Fulfillment of the Military Oath. The Responsibility of Servicemen for Violations of Its Requirements."

peasants who had received arms vowed to fight for Soviet power wholeheartedly and intrepidly, without regard for their lives, to give the enemies of the people no quarter and defend the Soviet Republic at any price.

In April 1918, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee [VTsIK] approved a uniform text of the military oath for the entire army and this was then called the Solemn Promise. On 11 May 1918, the men of the Moscow Garrison leaving for the front were the first to take the Solemn Promise. V. I. Lenin who was seeing them off repeated the words of the oath with the men.

In March 1922, the VTsIK approved the Decree "On Bringing the Oath to the Entire Red Army and Red Navy." In the stipulated form, the men took the oath to the motherland collectively during the May Day Parade.

In 1939, a new text for the military oath which had been updated in accord with the USSR Constitution approved in 1936 and a new Regulation Governing the Taking of the Oath were approved. Since this time the servicemen began to take the military oath individually in affixing their personal signature to it.

The years have gone by, our Armed Forces have been improved and the Soviet state has grown stronger. Proceeding from the concrete historical conditions, amendments have been incorporated in the text of the military oath and the procedure for taking it.

The current oath was approved by the Ukase of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet of 23 August 1960. Its measured words contain a list of the most important obligations which each serviceman vows sacredly to carry out.

The oath is taken in a ceremony. This day is a holiday for the unit or ship. Recently it has become a tradition to take the oath at the sites of revolutionary and military glory. Thus, the young soldiers of the Brest Garrison vow loyalty to the motherland by the walls of the hero fortress. The Volgograd soldiers take the oath by the magnificent monument on Mamayev Kurgan, and in Sevastopol' the Black Sea sailors take it by the obelisk to the heroes on Malakhov Kurgan. In Moscow the young soldiers vow loyalty to the motherland on Red Square and by the grave of the Unknown Soldier.

The solemn vow of loyalty to the fatherland is an important legal, moral-political and patriotic act. Taken in the prescribed order, the oath becomes an inviolable law in the life of the soldier, a law from which there can be no deviations.

In the first place the oath obliges the soldier to be honest, brave, disciplined and vigilant. The demand to be honest is of great significance for servicemen both in peacetime and in wartime. An army cannot exist without mutual trust between the servicemen. Each of them should be confident that a comrade in arms will never let one down. To be honest and just means to put the interests of the state and society higher than personal ones, to serve one's people devotedly, to earnestly carry out the military oath and regulations and the orders of commanders and chiefs and to strive constantly for new successes in military and political training. An honest soldier does not fear telling a comrade where he has erred and helps him mend his ways. Honesty does not tolerate covering up and connivance. It strengthens military comradeship.

Bravery expresses the moral force of a soldier and his ability to maintain presence of mind in danger and to surmount any difficulties for the sake of the motherland, sparing neither his blood nor life itself. The guarantee for this is high political awareness, love for the socialist fatherland, loyalty to one's people and the Soviet government and a belief in the rightness of our cause. "...There is a limit, an instant when in a patriot soldier an awareness of one's duty to the motherland suppresses both the feeling of fear, pain and the thought of death," wrote Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in his book "Malaya Zemlya." "Hence, this action, a feat, is not instinctive but rather a conviction of the rectitude and greatness of a cause for which a person consciously gives up his life."

In the battles for the freedom and independence of the Soviet motherland, our men have always shown the greatest heroism, courage and intrepidity and have honorably carried out their vow to be brave. During the years of the Great Patriotic War, more than 300 times the immortal feat of Pvt Aleksandr Matrosov was repeated when others followed his example of blocking the fire slit of an enemy pillbox with their body. Over 350 Soviet pilots repeated the legendary feat of Capt Nikolay Gastello who headed his burning aircraft into an enemy column. For military feats more than 7 million persons were awarded orders and medals and over 11,000 persons representing more than 100 nations and nationalities of the USSR were awarded the high title of Hero of the Soviet Union.

Loyal to the military oath, the Soviet military have shown courage and bravery and in an exemplary manner have carried out their sacred duty in peacetime as well. Readiness for a feat is becoming a characteristic character trait of evermore soldiers, sergeants and officers. In recent years alone, many of them have been awarded orders and medals for courage and valor.

One of the basic requirements of the oath is to be disciplined. Discipline is an inseparable quality of the Soviet servicemen. V. I. Lenin repeatedly pointed out that for dependably guaranteeing the victories of socialism there must be iron discipline which permeates all our army from the bottom to the top.

The requirements of military discipline and its content are stated in the Disciplinary Regulations of the USSR Armed Forces. They point out that military discipline is the strict and precise observance of order and the rules set by the Soviet laws and military regulations. Military discipline obliges each serviceman first of all to strictly observe Soviet laws and precisely carry out the requirements of the military oath and military regulations and to unquestionably obey his superiors.

The role and significance of Soviet military discipline, of high organization, constant alertness and unfailing efficiency are increasing evermore under present-day conditions when the army is equipped with nuclear weapons and complex military equipment. Even the slightest, single manifestations of carelessness and lack of discipline on the part of individual servicemen under these conditions can lead to fatal consequences.

Along with discipline, vigilance on the part of all categories of servicemen is of great significance for maintaining the constant combat readiness of the Soviet Armed Forces. High vigilance is one of the most important moral-political and military qualities for the representatives of all the services and branches of

troops. It means primarily the readiness and ability of each soldier at any moment to engage the enemies and the ability to promptly detect and thwart their perfidious intrigues. Vigilance presupposes the strict observance of military and state secrecy, the exemplary standing of alert duty, guard, watch and other services, the conscientious carrying out of service duties and the observance of the established standards of conduct.

In order to always be ready, as the military oath requires, to come to the defense of the motherland and defend it courageously and ably, with dignity and honor, there must be not only constant work by the soldier himself but also great efforts on the part of the commanders and chiefs who bear personal responsibility to the party and the government for the constant combat readiness of the units and subunits assigned to them and for the training and indoctrination of subordinates. The Decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On Further Improving Ideological and Political Indoctrination" emphasizes that our duty is to oppose the subversive political and ideological activities of the class enemy with profound conviction and political vigilance on the part of each Soviet person and by his readiness to defend the motherland and revolutionary victories. The Soviet military should be profoundly aware of their duty to ensure the peaceful labor of our people and to protect the cause of peace and socialism.

Proceeding from Lenin's legacy and the requirements of the Communist Party and the military regulations, the commanders and political workers constantly develop and maintain in the men an awareness of the sacredness and inviolability of the military oath, they inculcate in the personnel total loyalty to the Soviet motherland and to the Soviet government and instill high moral-military qualities. This daily, purposeful work is particularly effective where the training and indoctrinational process is characterized by great scientificness and clear organization and has a comprehensive, systematic nature. The essence of a comprehensive approach to organizing the entire question of troop indoctrination in a spirit of unfailing execution of the military oath consists in solving as a unity the problems of ideological-political, military, labor, moral and legal indoctrination; to achieve precise, purposeful and coordinated work by the commanders, the political workers, the staffs, the party and Komsomol organizations and the military lawyers; to employ all means of instruction and indoctrination and to consider the particular features of the various categories of servicemen. The chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy, Arm Gen A. A. Yepishev, has pointed out: "It would be mistaken to think that the antipodes of communist morality survive only because of old traditions. They are also aided by deviations from the socialist principles and laws, from proper order, by incorrect relations of individual commanders with subordinates and by a lessening in certain areas of work to prevent infractions. This is why it is so important to carry out political and moral indoctrination in close unity with military and legal indoctrination, in reinforcing explanatory work by improving the organization and order in all levels of our military organization and by increasing exactingness and concern for satisfying the needs of the men.

The work of the commanders and chiefs in the area of indoctrinating the servicemen in a spirit of the unfailing fulfillment of the military oath should be carried out continuously and on a planned basis. This area of activity presupposes a carefully thought out system of influencing all categories of servicemen from reveille to taps, during exercises and the standing of duty, during the hours of mass party

measures and in their personal time. This work is based upon indoctrinating the men in a communist ideology which develops their activist position in life, encourages them to effective actions for the good of the motherland and helps them more profoundly realize their personal responsibility for carrying out the constitutional duties of defending the historic victories of socialism.

In the subunits and units a definite system of legal indoctrination has come into being and various forms and methods are employed to profoundly and completely explain to the servicemen Lenin's teachings about the state and law, the defense of the socialist fatherland, the decisions of the party congresses, the decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Constitution, the new laws ratified on its basis, the Law Governing Universal Military Service and the requirements of the military oath and regulations. The military lawyers also are involved in this work. The joint efforts by the commanders and political workers, the party and Komsomol activists and the officers from the judge advocate's office and tribunals produce the best results where the measures being planned are prepared for with particular care and the individual indoctrinational impact is realized considering the particular features of the individual servicemen. The planned use of tested forms of legal indoctrination work with the employment of propaganda equipment helps to achieve effectiveness in this area. For able indoctrinators it has become a standard practice to regularly hold special-subject evening meetings on such subjects as "The Oath Has Been Taken and Not a Step from It!" and "The Strict Observance of the Requirements of the Oath and Regulations--The Guarantee for High Vigilance and Combat Readiness," the discussion of training and documentary films on the corresponding subject and taking up the service of exemplary servicemen in special issues of the radio news, the materials of visual agitation and in oral speeches.

The flawless carrying out of the military oath and regulations by all the men is achieved primarily due to the personal example set by the indoctrinators. Precisely this is shown from the practices of many leading officers and precisely this indispensable condition should be the standard for the daily activities of each commander and chief. It is essential to always remember that the only person who can become a true indoctrinator of the defenders of the motherland is he who himself is an individual who combines ideological maturity, high moral-military, professional and service qualities, a profound knowledge of the legal standards which control army service and their unswerving observance. A chief who possesses moral authority also possesses the thoughts and feelings of subordinates and successfully organizes their indoctrination in a spirit of the irreproachable carrying out of the requirements of the oath, in relying primarily on the strength of persuasion as the basic method for an effective result.

The generalization and dissemination of the advanced training and service experience of servicemen who are masters of their job are a particularly effective form of indoctrinating the men in a spirit of the unfailing fulfillment of the oath. In summing up the results of exercises, firing, drills and cruises, the leading commanders and chiefs, along with analyzing the special training level of subordinates, also comment on the moral aspect of the question. In such instances they usually consider the effort with which each soldier carried out his duties, whether he did everything to carry out the combat training mission in the best manner, what factors motivated him in providing help to fellow servicemen and so forth. In thus disseminating the positive experience of carrying out the requirements of the oath,

skillful indoctrinators develop a desire of the personnel not to remain on the achieved level, to move forward constantly and to remain the equal of those who are outstanding.

Unfortunately, individual servicemen are still encountered with low moral qualities and they violate the military oath. There are few of them, but like the rotten apple in the barrel, by their unseemly deeds they harm military discipline and the high authority of the Soviet soldier. Various measures are applied against such servicemen. And the interests of defending the motherland oblige the commander (chief) to decisively and firmly demand from their subordinates the observance of discipline and order, and not leave a single misdeed by a subordinate unnoticed.

The organizing and indoctrinational effect of a commander's exactingness to an enormous degree depends upon in what form this is carried out. The exactingness should be constant and legitimate. The absence of constant exactingness, connivance and impunity of guilty parties create those conditions whereby a lack of discipline and the violating of law and order begin to be perceived by the servicemen as an acceptable phenomenon. Exactingness placed occasionally on subordinates causes irritation in them and is viewed as fault-finding. Growing accustomed to indulgence, they begin to resist the demands made on them, they do not perceive the actions of superiors as necessary and dictated by the interests of service and they negligently carry out their duties and the orders of superiors.

Coercion is employed undoubtedly only against those on whom persuasion has not had a proper effect. These measures are strictly regulated by the Soviet laws and by the Disciplinary Regulations of the USSR Armed Forces. Depending upon the nature of the committed violation servicemen are held liable under disciplinary procedures for infractions and under criminal procedures for crimes. Only the most flagrant and dangerous violations of the military oath are recognized as crimes, and a complete and exhaustive list of them is given in the law. Violations of the oath or deviations from it which are not directly provided for in criminal legislation are considered infractions.

The first person who encounters the incorrect steps of a subordinate is his commander or chief. Upon how the chief responds to the infractions largely determines the further fate of the man, that is, whether he will return to the correct path or slip downwards. If individual negative phenomena are not promptly checked in the conduct of a subordinate they can take root and become the reason for even a crime.

The Disciplinary regulations of the USSR Armed Forces establish that for a violation of military discipline or public order by a serviceman, the commander should, depending upon the nature of the misdeed, remind him of the duties of service or impose a disciplinary reprimand. Often disciplinary measures are combined with public condemnation of the violators of the military oath. The Disciplinary Regulations and the Internal Service Regulations of the USSR Armed forces emphasize that a commander (chief) is obliged in every possible way to use the force of public opinion in combating the violators of military discipline. The strength of public opinion and the entire arsenal of the means of an ideological-political and moral effect on individual unstable men can be utilized most completely precisely in the military collectives.

A disciplinary reprimand, like public condemnation, is not only a punishment. It also pursues the aim of indoctrinating the serviceman in a spirit of unswerving observance of the Soviet laws, military order and discipline. Such a measure has an indoctrinational effect both on the guilty party and on other servicemen and is a serious means for preventing infractions of the law.

In accord with the USSR Law Governing Universal Military Service, servicemen and reservists called up for courses bear criminal liability for crimes committed by them. This is the strictest legal measure of coercion which deprives the violators of definite benefits or limits their rights. At the same time a criminal punishment is aimed, like social and disciplinary action, also at reeducating the guilty party.

The achieving of a maximum effect from indoctrinating the servicemen in a spirit of the unfailing fulfillment of the military oath requires on the part of the commanders increased exactingness, rejection of weaknesses and oversimplification and principledness in all matters. Unfortunately, individual officers are still encountered who do not always critically assess the results achieved by them and are little concerned with preventing infractions. This prevents the development of high discipline in the men and harms combat readiness.

The Decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On Improving Work in the Area of Protecting Law and Order and Strengthening the Fight Against Violations of the Law" draws the attention of all leaders and secretaries of party and Komsomol organizations to the necessity of improving legal indoctrination and to their personal responsibility for the state of discipline and law and order and for the prompt and sharp response to warnings about instances of antisocial conduct by individual members of the collectives. It is particularly emphasized that one must deal strictly with those who show indifference and laxness on this question.

The Accountability Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th Party Congress points out that any law lives only when it is precisely and steadily carried out. The constant struggle to carry out these demands of the party is an indispensable condition for the successful activities of the commanders, the political workers and the party and Komsomol organizations of the subunits and units in indoctrinating in the men high moral-military and professional qualities and the desire to unfailingly carry out the commands of the military oath and the sacred duty of the armed defenders of the Soviet Motherland.

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ARMED FORCES

OUTLINE FOR INDOCTRINATION ON USSR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

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[Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences, Docent, Capt 1st Rank N. Kostikov: "The 26th CPSU Congress on the Sociopolitical and Spiritual Development of Soviet Society and the Tasks of the Party"]

[Text] The exercise on the given subject should help the servicemen in more profoundly understanding the materials of the 26th CPSU Congress and the provisions and conclusions contained in the report at the congress by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. The important objective of this exercise is also to evoke in the students a new influx of pride for our great motherland and for belonging to the Soviet Armed Forces and a desire to respond to the party's concern for further strengthening the economic and defense might of our nation and the greater prosperity of our people by the unswerving fulfillment of their military duty.

Eight hours are assigned for studying the subject. This time should be divided as follows: 2 hours for the lecture (narration), 2 for independent preparation and 4 hours for the seminar (talk).

In the lecture (narration) it is recommended that the following questions be taken up: 1. The development of the socioclass structure and national relations of Soviet society. 2. Strengthening the material and spiritual bases of the socialist way of life and the formation of the new man. 3. The USSR Constitution and the further development of the Soviet political system.

In a brief introduction it is essential to point out that the 26th CPSU Congress has become a historic marker on the path of the Soviet people toward communism. The Accountability Report of the Central Committee which was given at the congress by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev provides a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of the internal problems in the life of our country and the international situation at the beginning of the 1980's. It contains an extensive program for the further development of the society of mature socialism and the struggle for peace and social progress in the world. The 26th CPSU Congress has become a stirring, vivid demonstration of the unbreakable sociopolitical and ideological unity of Soviet society and of the close solidarity of all the nations and nationalities of our country with the

Communist Party. The party values the trust of the people. It draws new energy and inspiration from this. In serving the people and their vital interests, the party sees the highest sense of its revolutionarily transforming activities. "All for the sake of man, all for the good of man!"--it has always been loyal to this motto. "We are well aware from the experience of both the past and the present," emphasized Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in his opening speech at the 26th CPSU Congress, "that the role of the leading force in a society does not come automatically. This role is earned and won in the course of a constant, unceasing struggle for the interests of the workers. And this role is reinforced by the fact that the party is constantly deepening its ties with the masses of people and lives for their same needs and concerns.

"The strength of the party is in the unity with the people!

"The strength of the people is in the unity with the party and in its leadership!"

The party highly regards the efforts of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the people's intelligentsia aimed at further strengthening the economic and defense might of the motherland and at the flourishing of its science, culture and all spiritual life. United closely around the Leninist party, the workers of the city and the countryside and the men of the Army and Navy perceive its plans as their personal, vital cause and are fully determined to carry them out. On behalf of the 26th CPSU Congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev expressed the firm conviction that the plans outlined by the congress would not only be fulfilled but also overfulfilled.

1. The Development of the Socioclass Structure and National Relations of Soviet Society

In beginning the material on the first question, it must be pointed out that under the conditions of mature socialism, the relationship of economic progress with the sociopolitical and spiritual progress of society is becoming ever closer. "Proceeding from this," emphasized Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th Party Congress, "the CPSU Central Committee has given constant attention to the questions of developing the socioclass and national structure of Soviet society and to improving the socialist way of life, our state system and democracy."

In the 1970's, all the classes and social groups of Soviet society continued to move closer together. This was an objective but in no way spontaneous process. In it an important role was played by the social policy of the party and state. Our aim is the creation of a society in which there will be no dividing of people into classes. And it can be definitely said that we are gradually but steadily advancing to this goal.

What is the basis for such a conclusion?

The role of the working class in the life of our society is rising. Its numbers are growing. "At present," pointed out Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress, "in the nation there are around 80 million workers or two-thirds of the employed population. Hence our working class has become not merely the most numerous class but also a majority of the working people. More and more workers are becoming members of the party, trade union and Komsomol committees and the higher and local state bodies. This is very correct, comrades, and we welcome it.!"

The strengthening of the leading role of the working class in the life of our society is related to its greater ideological and political maturity, education and professional skills. Ten years ago just a little more than one-half of the workers had a secondary (complete and incomplete) and higher education, and at present it is three-quarters. The professional training of the younger generation of the working class is being improved. In the 1960's, only one-third of the young men and women received a specialty in the system of vocational and technical education, but during the Tenth Five-Year Plan, the number was 12.5 million persons, that is, two-thirds of the workers coming into production. The very nature of the work of a modern worker is also altering. This work is evermore assuming an intellectual content.

The Accountability Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th Party Congress emphasized that in keeping with the industrialization of agricultural production, profound changes are also occurring in the life of the kolkhoz peasantry. Its labor is gradually drawing closer to the labor of workers. In the countryside there are more and more equipment operators and other workers involved with modern equipment. It is not surprising, for this reason, that the number of kolkhoz members with a secondary (complete and incomplete) and higher education increased over the 10 years from 39 to over 60 percent.

The social structure is greatly influenced by the merging of the two forms of socialist property and by the development of the interfarm organizations in which both kolkhozes and state enterprises participate. Also of important significance are the changes in the organization of labor and wages of the kolkhoz members and the extending to them of the social security system established for industrial employees. All of this is leading to a situation which V. I. Lenin described as the destruction of the difference in the social status of the worker and the peasant.

Of course, we still have not a few lagging farms and not a few villages which require reconstruction, renovation and public works. Without this it is impossible to create stable labor collectives and effectively utilize the production potential which has been created in the countryside in the interests of successfully carrying out the production program. A great deal of effort, time and funds are needed to improve the cultural and living conditions in the countryside and for overcoming the essential differences between city and countryside. "But even now," commented Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress, "it is a pleasure to visit many kolkhozes and sovkhoses. It is a pleasure to enter the spacious, light homes where urban conveniences are combined with the particular features and needs of rural life. The new nature of labor, modern life and the appearance of such villages--these are, comrades, the good fruits of our social policy!"

During the report period, the size of our intelligentsia grew more rapidly than all others. At present one out of every four workers is basically involved in mental labor. Not only in science, education and culture, but also in material production and in all the life of our society the intelligentsia is playing an evermore significant role.

In turn, as was stressed in the Accountability Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th Party Congress, physical and mental labor are evermore closely intertwined in the production activities of millions of workers and kolkhoz members. Many of them are rationalizers and inventors, authors of articles and books, state

and public figures. They in the full sense are highly cultivated, intelligent people.

In assessing the experience of the development of our society over the last decades, it can be assumed that the development of a classless structure will basically and mainly occur within the historical limits of mature socialism. The modern working class has been and remains the leading force of this process, its, in the words of K. Marx, "social reason and social heart." Its revolutionary ideology and morality, collectivist psychology, its interests and ideals are presently becoming the property of all strata of Soviet society.

The obliteration of interclass differences poses, naturally, new tasks for social policy. It more and more is concentrated on surmounting the differences going beyond the individual classes and on solving problems which require the closest consideration of the particular features and interests of each group of our society.

In accord with the instructions of the 25th Party Congress, the CPSU Central Committee in past years has paid serious attention to the elaboration and implementation of an effective demographic policy and to the recently exacerbated demographic problems. The main way to solving them is to show more concern for the family, the young and primarily for women. Certainly everyone realizes that at times it is not easy to combine the duties of a mother with active participation in production and social life. It is a question of introducing for women a partially paid leave to tend a child up to the age of 1 year, of an incomplete working day for the mothers of small children and expanding the network and improving the operation of the children's preschool institutions the schools with extended day groups and all domestic services. There are plans to increase assistance for children, particularly with the birth of the second and third child.

The party and state have been constantly concerned for the health and well-being of the labor and war veterans. At present each year over 43 billion rubles are paid out for pensions and aid. Recently, pensions have been increased. However, these surpayments did not involve persons who retired previously. Beginning with the current five-year plan, such a situation is gradually to be rectified. "But we must also do something else," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress, "and that is to more widely involve our veterans in labor activities, particularly in the service sphere. Certainly, in keeping with their capabilities and considering the needs of the national economy. This is a very important task under present-day conditions."

The Accountability Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th Party Congress emphasized that the fraternal friendship of all the peoples of our multinational motherland has been constantly growing stronger. Our course is to increase the material and spiritual potential of each republic and at the same time make maximum use of it for the harmonious development of the entire nation. Our nation has achieved truly historical achievements on this path.

Since the first years of Soviet power, the party's economic and social policy has been organized in such a manner as to raise the former national borderlands of Russia up to the development level of its center as rapidly as possible. And this task has been successfully carried out. Here a major role was played by the close collaboration of all the nations of the country and above all by the selfless aid

of the Russian people. At present, backward national borderlands in the USSR no longer exist.

Even a simple listing of the decrees approved in the report period and the measures envisaged in them indicates how broad and diverse has been the range of questions with which the CPSU Central Committee and Soviet government have been concerned in solving the urgent problems of developing all the republics of our country and strengthening the USSR. For example, here have been the new law on the autonomous okrugs in the RSFSR, the enlarging of irrigation systems in Central Asia, the development of reindeer raising in the regions of the Far North and sheep raising in Kirghizia, conservation of the resources of Lake Sevan and many other serious matters. The decrees of the CPSU Central Committee have been consistently carried out on developing the economy and culture of Abkhazia, Tuva and Buryatia as well as the areas where the peoples of the North live. One should particularly mention, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress, the RSFSR Nonchernozem Zone. Due to a number of factors, this area has been under more difficult conditions in comparison with certain others. The party Central Committee and the Soviet government have outlined and are implementing broad measures for the development of the Nonchernozem Zone. This task is so complicated and pressing that it must be carried out by the joint efforts of all the republics and in the shortest possible time.

The 26th CPSU Congress emphasized that the unity of the Soviet nations is stronger than ever before. This does not mean that all questions in the sphere of national relations have already been settled. The development dynamics of such a large multinational state as ours gives rise to many problems which require the sensitive attention of the party.

The composition of the population in the Soviet republics is a multinational one. Naturally, all the nations have the right to proper representation in their party and state bodies. Certainly, with strict consideration of the professional and ideological-moral qualities of each person.

In recent years in a number of republics there has been a significant increase in the number of citizens of the nonindigenous personalities. They have their own specific needs in the area of language, culture and everyday life. The 26th CPSU Congress obliged the central committees of the republic communist parties, the kraykoms and obkoms to delve more deeply into such questions and promptly propose ways to settle them.

Our nation respects national feelings and the national dignity of each person. The CPSU has always fought and will fight decisively against such manifestations which are alien to the nature of socialism as chauvinism or nationalism, and against any nationalistic deviations, for instance, either anti-Semitism or Zionism. We are against the tendencies aimed at the artificial obliteration of national features but we equally consider their artificial emphasis as unacceptable. It is the sacred duty of the party to indoctrinate the workers in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism and a proud feeling of belonging to the unified great Soviet motherland.

Life convinces us that the intensive economic and social development of each of our republics accelerates the process of their all-round merging. "There are," commented Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress, "the flourishing and mutual

enrichment of national cultures and the formation of a culture of the united Soviet people as a new social and international community. This process is occurring in our nation as it should occur under socialism, that is, on a basis of equality, fraternal cooperation and voluntariness. The party strictly watches the observance of these Leninist principles of nationality policy. We will never deviate from them!"

In completing the statement of material on the first question, it is important to reemphasize that our party has proposed for the 1980's a scientifically elaborated program for the further economic and social development of the nation. This program was given a complete theoretical and political analysis in the Accountability Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th Party Congress and in the Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and for the Period Up to 1990. In accord with it, during the 11th Five-Year Plan, an extensive system of measures is to be carried out to consistently raise the prosperity of the people and to create ever-better conditions for the all-round development of the individual for highly productive labor, for strengthening the health and improving the recreation of the Soviet people, for developing education, science and culture--all that comprises the socialist way of life.

2. Strengthening the Material and Spiritual Bases of the Socialist Way of Life and the Formation of the New Man

In beginning to give the material on the second question, it is essential to emphasize that Soviet society is a society of working people. The party and the government have made and are making a great effort to make the labor of man not only more productive but also interesting, creative and meaningful. An important role here, as was pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress, must be played by the elimination of manual, unskilled and heavy physical labor. This is not only an economic problem but also a serious social one. To solve it means to eliminate the essential obstacles on the path to turning labor into the first vital need of each person.

Socialism gives rise to a new attitude toward labor. One of its vivid manifestations has been and remains the socialist competition. In our nation there is not a single plant, kolkhoz or construction site which has not been touched by its vital spirit. Great is the scope of this patriotic movement which at present encompasses more than 100 million persons. The examples of an understanding of social duty, heroism and total dedication in labor are being forged in it.

The party teaches that the socialist competition is the vital creativity of the masses. In its very essence it is based upon the high awareness and initiative of people. Precisely this initiative helps disclose and activate the production reserves and improve the efficiency and quality of work.

As is known, people work better and more willingly where they feel a constant concern for improving their working and living conditions. The plant or farm is that home where a person spends a minimum of one-third of his life. Here everything should be convenient and modern from the work areas to the service areas and dining rooms. "We must establish rigid control," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in the report at the 26th CPSU Congress, "so that the money for the social development of the

enterprises, cities and villages is used strictly according to purpose, completely and on the established dates."

The distribution sphere has always been and remains a matter of particular attention for the party. The changes occurring here can be seen, for example, from the following facts. In the 1970's, the number of families of workers, white collar personnel and kolkhoz members which earn over 100 rubles a month per person increased by almost 3-fold. On the contrary, the number of families where the per person income is less than 50 rubles a month declined by approximately the same amount. That is, here there has been not only growth but also the drawing together of the standard of living for all groups of workers. This tendency will gather strength, and the more rapidly the more efficiently everyone works.

The party teaches that the main criterion under socialism can be only labor, that is, its quantity and quality. Our system of material and moral incentives should always and everywhere ensure a just and objective assessment of the labor contribution of each person. "It is essential," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress, "to encourage conscientious workers in every possible way and not to leave any escapes for the idlers and bad workmen for a good life by worthless work. The person who wants to live better should also work more and work better."

As is known, there is no unemployment in Soviet society. The right to work has been stated in our Constitution and is truly guaranteed. But the USSR Basic Law, upon numerous proposals by the workers, also states a different idea: the avoidance of socially useful labor is incompatible with the principles of socialism. And this means, as was emphasized at the 26th CPSU Congress, that by using all organizational, financial and legal means it is essential to firmly close off any chances for loafing, parasitism and speculation, for unearned income and any encroachments against socialist property.

Recently the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers approved a decree on improving the operation of the trade and public dining enterprises, the strengthening of their personnel and physical plant and on imposing firm order in the trade rules and in the distribution of products and goods. At the same time, concrete measures were outlined to decisively halt the machinations with scarce goods, to increase the struggle of the appropriate state bodies against all forms of abuses in this sphere and to strengthen worker control. On behalf of the 26th CPSU Congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev expressed confidence that the workers fully approve these measures.

One of the most remarkable features of the Soviet way of life, as was pointed out at the congress, is the growing goods which people receive from the public consumption funds. During the 5 years, they increased by approximately one-third and during the present year alone will be 121.5 billion rubles. This is an enormous amount. It is used to improve the working conditions of the workers, to protect their health, for education, the upbringing of children, for social security and culture.

Housing construction holds a major place in the party's social program. During the past five-year plan, it was carried out on an enormous scale in our country; its volume will be maintained for the nation in the future. At the same time, many families still live in communal, unequipped apartments and many young people wait years for housing. And since this problem is still not so simple, particular care

is needed in allocating housing, and this should be carried out with the participation of the public organizations and under firm control by them. Cooperative construction must also be more widely developed and its forms improved. At the same time we must deal much more strictly with those who show an irresponsible attitude toward the use and upkeep of the housing. The imposing of order here will be aided by the principles of housing legislation a draft of which is being widely discussed among the public.

In the nation as a whole, the party's instructions concerning the development of public education are being successfully carried out. An important goal has been reached. The transition to compulsory universal secondary education has been completed. The main thing at present is to raise the quality of instruction and labor and moral indoctrination in the school, to eliminate formalism in assessing the results of the work of the teachers and students, to in fact strengthen the ties of education with life and to strengthen the preparation of school children for socially useful labor.

The successes of the Soviet system of higher and specialized secondary education are well known. Just in the last 5 years, it has provided our national economy with 10 million skilled specialists. At the same time, as was emphasized by the 26th CPSU Congress, much in this system can and must be improved. It is essential first of all to improve the quality of instruction and strengthen its tie with production.

The party has considered and does consider concern for the health of the Soviet people to be one of the most important social tasks. The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government in 1977 approved an extensive decree on measures to further improve public health. Its implementation has produced results. At present our polyclinics in one shift can receive a half million citizens more than 5 years ago. Specialized medical aid and the cardiological service have undergone significant development. The prevention of illnesses has become more effective. But there still are many shortcomings. The party feels that the work of the polyclinics, dispensaries and outpatient clinics which treat 80 percent of all the patients should be substantially improved. "It is essential to do everything," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress, "so that the Soviet man always and everywhere could receive prompt, skilled and caring medical aid."

Concern for the health of the Soviet people is inseparable from the development of physical culture and sports in the nation. It is important to see to it that physical culture becomes an evermore active part of the daily life of the broad strata of the population, particularly children.

The 26th CPSU Congress pointed out that the fact that the spiritual life of Soviet society is becoming evermore diverse and richer is an indisputable accomplishment of our cultural figures, our literature and art. In recent years--and in all the republics--many talented works have appeared. This applies to literature and the theater, to the films and music, painting and sculpture.

Loyal to Lenin's cultural policy, our party has a respectful and considerate attitude toward the artistic intelligentsia and orients it at solving high creative problems. This has contributed to the further consolidation of the creative forces, to raising the spiritual life of our society and to the cause of the communist indoctrination of the workers.

The Soviet man, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized in the report at the 26th CPSU Congress, is a conscientious worker, a person of high political culture, a patriot and an internationalist. He has been indoctrinated by the party, by the heroic history of the nation and by our entire way of life. He lives a full life as the creator of a new world. We possess great material and spiritual possibilities for the ever fuller development of the individual and we will increase them in the future. At the same time it is also important that each person is able to use these opportunities reasonably. Ultimately this depends upon what are the interests and needs of the individual. For this reason our party sees in their active and purposeful formation one of the most important tasks of social policy.

In their majority, Soviet people work honestly and with spirit. They correctly and reasonably use the diverse goods which society gives them and they protect and add to our national property. But we have, as was pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress, also people who endeavor to give less and receive more from the state. Selfishness and Philistinism, acquisitiveness and indifference to the concerns and causes of the people grow precisely out of such a psychology. Drunkenness causes serious harm to society and the family and it remains a serious problem. The efforts of all working collectives, all social organizations and all communists should be directed against this abnormal phenomenon.

In completing the giving of material on the second question, it must be said that in the 11th Five-Year Plan and in the 1980's, great work must be carried out to improve the socialist way of life and to eradicate everything that impedes the formation of the new man. This, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out at the 26th Party Congress, is one of the indispensable component parts in the party's social policy the aim of which is the well-being and happiness of the Soviet people.

3. The USSR Constitution and the Further Development of the Soviet Political System

In beginning to give the material on the third question, it must be pointed out that the most essential changes in the economic, social and spiritual life of Soviet society and the profound democracy of our state of all the people have been expressed in a concentrated form in the new USSR Constitution. A new stage in the work of the Soviets started with the ratification of the USSR Constitution and then the constitutions of the Union and autonomous republics.

There has been a noticeable increase in the activities of the highest bodies, the USSR Supreme Soviet and the republic supreme soviets. In bringing together legislation, management and control, the supreme soviets actively direct the work of the councils of ministers, ministries and departments.

The updating of Soviet legislation carried out on a basis of the Constitution, as was stated at the 26th CPSU Congress, has provided a very useful effect. Many good laws have been approved in our country. The new laws make it possible to regulate various aspects of social relations more accurately and delicately. "At present," emphasized Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in the report at the 26th CPSU Congress, "the question is primarily of their precise and unswerving implementation. Certainly any law lives when it is carried out, that is, carried out by everyone and everywhere."

Much that is interesting and new has appeared in recent years in the activities of the local soviets. Without lessening attention to the questions of the local economy and public services they have made a great contribution to ensuring comprehensive economic and social development. The soviets more and more actively are coordinating the work of the enterprises and organizations located on their territory. The CPSU Central Committee in every possible way supports such a trend in the activities of the local soviets.

In the nation, as was pointed out at the 26th Party Congress, there are almost a million communist deputies. They endeavor to use their authority and experience so that each session of the soviet and each meeting of a permanent commission be turned into a true council of the people, into a collective search for the most correct decisions. An interest in the common cause and in the development of production, a comparison of opinions, frank and principled criticism and self-criticism, and a rise in the sociopolitical activeness of each citizen--this is the essence of Soviet democracy.

An essential component of Soviet democracy is all-encompassing people's control over the work of the administrative bodies and officials. No violation or instance of abuse, waste or lack of discipline should slip past the people's controllers. To act more energetically, to act more aggressively--this is what the CPSU Central Committee urges them to do.

As was stated at the 26th CPSU Congress, the responsibility of the bodies of justice, the courts, the prosecutor's office and the Soviet police is great in strengthening socialist legality and law and order. The professional knowledge of the workers from these bodies should be combined with civil courage, justice and integrity. Only such people can properly carry out the serious duties entrusted to them. The Soviet people have every right to demand that their work be maximally effective, that each crime should be properly investigated and the guilty parties properly punished. "On this matter, the bodies defending law and order," emphasized Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in the report at the 26th CPSU Congress, "will be given full support from the party and, undoubtedly, from our entire community."

Our party teaches that the acuteness of the class struggle on the international scene places high demands on the activities of the state security bodies and on the party tempering, knowledge and style of work of our Chekists [the first Soviet secret police]. The USSR State Security Committee works efficiently, on a high professional level, in strictly adhering to the provisions of the Constitution and the standards of Soviet legislation. The Chekists closely and vigilantly watch the intrigues of the imperialist intelligence agents. They decisively stop the activities of those who encroach on the rights of the Soviet people and on the interests of Soviet society. And their work merits the profound gratitude of the party and all our people.

During the report period, as was pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress, the party and the state never lost sight of the questions of strengthening the defense might of the nation and its Armed Forces. Moreover, as was stressed in the report of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the congress, the international situation obliges us to do this.

The imperialist reaction is actually working to complicate the relations between the USSR and the United States, the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries, and is endeavoring to upset the established military-strategic equilibrium in its favor.

It would be at least naive to assume, emphasized the member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Minister of Defense, Mar SU D. F. Ustinov, in his report at a meeting of the party aktiv of the USSR Ministry of Defense, that we would allow anyone to disrupt this equilibrium and to create a superiority over us. "Such attempts as well as talking with us from a position of strength," stated Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress, "are absolutely futile!" The USSR Minister of Defense pointed out that under the conditions of the heightened international tension, the Communist Party and the Soviet state are doing everything necessary to strengthen the defense capability of the nation and to raise the combat might of the Armed Forces. Simultaneously the USSR is continuing its active struggle to lessen the threat of war and to check the arms race.

In the Accountability Report of the CPSU Central Committee and in the speeches of the delegates of the 26th CPSU Congress, stated the USSR Minister of Defense, high praise was given to the party and state line of further strengthening the defense capability of the nation and increasing the combat might of our Armed Forces. The present state of the Armed Forces is an embodiment of this line and they are an actually mighty and actually dependable guard for the peaceful, creative labor of the Soviet people. The constant concern of the party, the government and all the Soviet people for the Armed Forces inspires the men to new successes in training and service. The decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress are viewed by them as their combat program.

A firm fusion of high technical equipping, military skill and unshakable morale--this is the military potential of the Soviet Armed Forces. The sons and grandsons of the heroes of the Great Patriotic War are already serving in the ranks of the defenders of the motherland. They have not experienced the harsh trials which befell their fathers and grandfathers. But they are faithful to the heroic traditions of our army and our people. And each time that the interests of national security and the defense of peace require, when help is needed for the victims of aggression, the Soviet soldier appears before the world as a selfless and courageous patriot, an internationalist ready to overcome any difficulties. "It so happened," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in his report, "that our congress opened on Soviet Army and Navy Day. Allow me on behalf of all the delegates to warmly congratulate the glorious defenders of the motherland. The party Central Committee is confident that they in the future will dependably guard the peaceful, creative labor of the Soviet people!"

At the congress it was pointed out that the USSR Constitution has significantly increased the role given to the social organizations in the development of our democracy. The largest of them is the trade unions. Having accepted into their ranks millions of kolkhoz farmers, the trade unions now cover virtually all workers. The tasks and rights of the trade union organizations are extremely vast. They are concerned with defending the interests of the workers; they participate in settling economic, social and cultural problems, and they do a great deal to raise the socialist competition, invention and rationalization. It is essential, as was stated at the 26th CPSU Congress, to further strengthen the control of the trade

unions and the labor collectives over solving all questions of the labor and life of people and to broaden their participation in the planning and management of production, in the recruitment and placement of personnel, and in the efficient use of the assets of the enterprises and organizations. The party views the trade unions as its reliable support in the masses and as a powerful means for the development of democracy and involving the workers in the construction of communism.

Over 40 million young men and women of our nation belong to the Komsomol. To help in developing a generation of persons who are politically active, knowledgeable, who love labor and know how to work and who are always ready to defend their motherland--this is the most important, main thing in the work of the Komsomol. "As a whole," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress, "the Komsomol has carried out this task. Among its assets are scores and hundreds of construction projects in the most different regions of the nation. Komsomol involvement in the management of the state and in all social life has grown stronger. And this is how it should be."

At the same time, the congress said that in certain young people, a good education and level of information at times coexist with political naivete and professional preparedness with an insufficiently responsible attitude toward labor. This is largely the result of failings of the Komsomol. "Hence," emphasized Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in the Accountability Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th Party Congress, "it is essential to strengthen indoctrinational work. I have in mind both labor indoctrination, moral indoctrination and ideological-political indoctrination." And, as was then pointed out by L. I. Brezhnev, it is not a question of increasing the number of various "measures." Rather it is a question of creating a lively, creative atmosphere in each Komsomol organization.

The Komsomol should organize the study of Marxist-Leninist theory in such a manner that it is organically fused with the practical affairs of the Komsomol members and with their own life. "Here a great deal depends," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress, "upon the communists. We have experience and a conviction tested over the decades in the rightness of Marxism-Leninism. And all this wealth must be passed on to the youth. This is the dependable guarantee that the Soviet youth will always carry high the banner of communism."

In concluding the statement of material on the subject, it is essential to conclude that the highest objective of the policy and all practical activities by the party has been, is and will be concern for the good of the people. Whatever the issue discussed at the 26th CPSU Congress, that is, the party's economic strategy, the introduction of the achievements of scientific and technical progress, a rise in labor productivity or the development of culture--everything was subordinate precisely to this concern. In reading closely the lines of the Accountability Report of the Central Committee and the speeches at the congress, the Soviet people will see that every point of the social program envisages further advancement and new stages of growth have been planned. The food program and the program for the development of consumer goods production are being worked out and will be implemented. The people will receive significantly more goods from the public consumption funds and these will be used to improve the living conditions of the workers, for public health, for education, the raising of children, for social security and culture.

The Soviet people look to tomorrow with optimism and confidence. They believe in their party and know that the path pointed out by it is the only correct path. Our people and party have a magnificent aim, communism. Each five-year plan brings us closer to this cherished goal. The congress viewed the coming period of enormous work precisely from this viewpoint. Ahead lie difficult and complicated tasks. But the Soviet people know firmly that under the leadership of the party they will be successfully carried out. It is desirable to read the lecture (talk) with the words said by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in his closing speech at the 26th CPSU Congress. "Since the time," L. I. Brezhnev emphasized, "when the great Lenin founded our party, it has moved confidently along the path outlined by him for the construction of socialism and communism."

"How many times during this period has inevitable collapse been predicted for us. How many times have they attempted to force us to abandon the set goals. How many times have our enemies tried to persuade us that we err and that our path is wrong...."

"But so what? A majority of these people have long since been forgotten. But socialism lives! It is developing. It is moving forward steadily. And we do not simply believe but firmly know that our highest aim will be reached and a communist society will be built!"

"We are convinced of this because we believe in the sacred truth of our ideals. We are convinced of this because we recognize the inexhaustible might of our people. We are convinced of this because we know that the Marxist-Leninist course of our party is the correct course."

During the hours of independent study, it is recommended that the students read the report of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev "Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th CPSU Congress and the Next Tasks of the Party in the Area of Domestic and Foreign Policy," Section III (PRAVDA, 24 February 1981); the report of the member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, N. A. Tikhonov "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and for the Period Up to 1990" (PRAVDA, 28 February 1981); "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and for the Period Up to 1990" (PRAVDA, 5 March 1981).

In the seminar (talk) it is desirable to discuss the following questions: 1. The integration of classes and social groups in Soviet society. 2. The 26th CPSU Congress on raising the material and cultural standard of living of the Soviet people. 3. Strengthening the fraternal friendship of the Soviet people. 4. The further development of the Soviet political system. 5. The tasks of the party in the area of forming the new man.

Literature for Propagandists

1. V. I. Lenin, "The Next Tasks of Soviet Power," PSS [Complete Collected Works], Vol 36, pp 165-208.
2. V. I. Lenin, "How to Organize the Competition?" PSS, Vol 35, pp 195-205.

3. L. I. Brezhnev, "Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th CPSU Congress and the Next Tasks of the Party in the Area of Domestic and Foreign Policy (Section III)," PRAVDA, 24 February 1981.
4. N. A. Tikhonov, "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and for the Period Up to 1990," PRAVDA, 28 February 1981.
5. "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and for the Period Up to 1990," PRAVDA, 5 March 1981.
6. D. F. Ustinov, "Loyal to the Cause of the Party," PRAVDA, 21 February 1981.
7. A. A. Yepishev, "An Outstanding Event of the Modern Times," KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, 10 March 1981.
8. "The Peaceful Labor of the People--Under Secure Defense," KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, 17 March 1981.

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ARMED FORCES

FOLLOW-UP REPORT ON CRITICISM OF MILITARY NEWSPAPERS

Moscow KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL in Russian No 7, Apr 81 (signed to press 18 Mar 81) p 96

[Unattributed follow-up report: "The Competition and the Press"]

[Text] This title ["The Competition and the Press"] was given to a review of the newspapers published in Issue No 24 of KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL last year. The review analyzed the practice of taking up the socialist competition in honor of the 26th CPSU Congress by the newspaper NA BOYEVOM POSTU of the Order of Lenin Moscow Air Defense District, FLAG RODINY of the Red Banner Black Sea Fleet and ZASHCHITNIK RODINY of the Red Banner Odessa Military District.

The editors-in-chief of the named newspapers have informed the editors of this journal that the review was carefully studied by all the journalists of the editorial offices and discussed at sessions of the editorial boards, at short meetings and in party sessions. The critical comments voiced against the newspapers were considered valid. In each creative collective, measures have been outlined and are being implemented to further improve the quality of the articles devoted to the socialist competition and to strengthening its indoctrinational role. In particular, the editorial board of the newspaper NA BOYEVOM POSTU decided to publish more frequently materials of the direct organizers and participants in the competition, that is, by commanders, political workers, party and Komsomol activists. The newspaper is already carrying out the adjusted plans.

The editorial board of the newspaper FLAG RODINY has strengthened control over the content and periodicity of articles under the headings: "Standard Bearers of the Competition," "The Competition: A Unity of Word and Deed," "Advanced Experience is Being Introduced" and "Let Us Name the Laggards." The plan and contents of the pages on the monthly results of the competition have been revised and the efforts of the military journalists and military correspondents are being focused on the more specific demonstration of advanced experience, principledness in assessing the course of the competition for the advanced subunits, ships and units and for achieving high end results in military and political training. Materials have been planned and are already being published which disclose the experience of organizing the competition among the officers, warrant officers ["praporshchik" and "michman"] and petty officers and the practices of developing in subordinates an activist position in life and high military and moral qualities.

The newspaper ZASHCHITNIK RODINY has made the depiction of the course of the socialist competition more timely. On its pages, following a letter by the Military Pilot 1st Class, Capt Yu. Lasnyy, there has been a reader discussion of "Our Code of Honor." The articles thoroughly discuss the questions of the indoctrinational role of the competition and the influence of its moral stimuli on the moral development of the individual. A new heading "The Collective. The Individual. Relationships" has been introduced.

All these measures, as the newspaper editors inform us, have helped to increase the creative life of the editorial collectives and to raise the quality and effectiveness of the newspaper articles.

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ARMED FORCES

PROBLEM OF INDIFFERENCE DISCUSSED

Moscow ZNAMENOSETS in Russian No 4, Apr 81 (signed to press 23 Mar 81) p 25

[Article by Col Yu. Pakhomov, Transcaucasus MD: "Prisoner of Indifference"]

[Text] If you visit this garrison, you see that the men here have everything necessary for fruitful combat training and cultural rest. A spacious drill field, sports grounds rich with gymnastic equipment, lanes of acacia, and asphalt-paved paths. The barracks and training classrooms are equipped with consideration to contemporary aesthetic requirements. Everything here is done with plastic art and lacquer, with an artistic taste and good imagination.

And the soldiers' mess! Drop in on it, just like a restaurant in the capital city: glass doors, mirrors, flowers. In the dining hall are decorative small white-stem birches which seem to add air and light. And according to opinions, the food is excellent.

In short, the commanders, political officers, and administrators have a fatherly concern for the training and living conditions of the conscript men. And this, of course, is good.

But we glance at the outskirts of the post, at the DOS's [houses of officer personnel] where the servicemen's families reside. We were summoned here by a letter which was sent to the editors. A sharp contrast greeted the gaze. Instead of order and cleanliness--clutter and rubbish.

The kindergarten was noticeable from a distance by the flowery rainbow of paints. We--the garrison commandant, Lieutenant Colonel V. Serdyukov, Warrant Officer [praporshchik] P. Svidovskiy, the author of the letter, and I, the ZNAMENOSETS correspondent-- approach it. Rubbish heaps come up to the kindergarten on three sides.

It was namely about this--about the absence of elementary sanitary and hygienic conditions on the territory of the DOS's and in the houses themselves-- that Warrant Officer Svidovskiy wrote a letter last April to the district newspaper, accompanying it with photographs for convincingness. Here is an excerpt from this letter: "There are not even the most ordinary conveniences in our homes, no water pipe or sewers. Worst of all, all the garbage which is carried out to the yard is carried away extremely rarely. And a "mountain" is growing literally several steps from my threshold.... There are long interruptions in water supply. The two street

fountains which are present are not equipped, there are no spigots, and the water of which we are experiencing an acute shortage sometimes pours on the ground without stopping. The chief of the garrison, communist Comrade E. Vorob'yev, rides past our DOS's every day. The chief of the KECh [billeting unit], Engineer-Major B. Barkhatov, also knows about the disorders since the residents have repeatedly appealed to him with requests to improve the living conditions. But everything without results. And this stimulated me to write a letter to the editors."

Seeing how serious was the problem touched upon by the author, the editors of the newspaper referred the letter to Engineer-Colonel Ye. Shakhov, at that time chief of the district KEU [billeting directorate]. The latter issued the corresponding instructions in writing to Engineer-Major B. Barkhatov who reacted expeditiously: he soon reported through channels that measures had been adopted and that everything, he said, was in order.

But when Warrant Officer Svidovskiy and other residents of the DOS's became acquainted with the contents of Engineer-Major Barkhatov's answer one can understand, to put it mildly, the extent of their surprise: not one of the paragraphs which told about measures which had been adopted corresponded to reality. More than 20 residents placed their signatures beneath a new letter: Warrant Officers P. Kositsyn and A. Shnayder, Captain V. Butenko, Lieutenant A. Khorol'skiy, servicemen's wives T. Gromova, A. Oganessian, and others.

The letter went through the most varied channels. People delved into the essence of the problem, spent time and effort, tried to understand and help. Nor did they get by without formal responses. Comrade Ye. Shakhov, for example, answered Warrant Officer Svidovskiy three times and even advised him to organize a brigade to repair and look after the houses on a voluntary basis. But when can a military man, who often must be with the personnel on his day off, too, undertake this matter?

The letter travelled so long that Engineer-Colonel Shakhov managed to be released to the reserves. And what about the matter for the sake of which so much effort was expended and so much paper and ink were sent back and forth? Nothing has changed since last April.

And the first thing which this fact tells us is the cold-hearted, formal attitude toward the letters and requirements of the servicemen by local workers as well as the supervisory comrades of the district KEU. Evidently, in the current work on matters and concerns some of them forget that the letters of servicemen and members of their families are the most important threads of communication with the masses and a unique barometer of political attitude and the moral health of the people.

The Lenin principles of a sensitive, thoughtful attitude toward the requirements of the workers have become an integral part of our Soviet way of life. And it is the sacred duty of officials to investigate each letter, each request, or complaint and to adopt effective measures.

The second conclusion which follows from this obviously protracted story is the sluggishness and lack of initiative of those on whom order in the DOS's directly depends.

We are talking with the chief of the garrison KECh, Engineer-Major Boris Yur'yevich Barkhatov.

"Tell me, please, is it very difficult to place water taps on the pipes?"

"Of course not. We will install them without fail."

"And how about order and cleanliness?"

"We will straighten it out, too. We will install garbage containers."

"We will place, we will install"--everything in the future. And for now.... We recall the picture which we observed in the yard of a house: water ran out in a thin trickle from a pipe which sticks out of the ground and froze on the spot, forming an ice crust. Another pipe like it at the adjacent house stood idle."

"It froze, it must be supposed. And really, how can it not freeze if there is no heat," one of my companions uttered.

"We will provide heat, we will install it as required," Comrade Barkhatov later assured us in a talk. How it is to be hoped that everything will be just like this. And how we would like to see that someday people will say to the KECh workers with all their heart: "Thank you very much for your concern, for your labor!"

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GROUND FORCES

NCO TRAINING IN TANK REGIMENT

Moscow KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL in Russian No 7, Apr 81 (signed to press 18 Mar 81) pp 57-62

[Article by Col A. Sedykh: "The Development of Sergeants--A Party Concern"]

[Text] The Twice Order-Bearing Guards Tank Regiment in which Guards Lt Col V. Ryabov is the deputy commander for political affairs (zampolit), for a number of years has had stable high indicators in military and political training. And during the current training year, the year of the 26th CPSU Congress, the advanced military collective is steadily increasing its successes in military service. The tank troops have completely carried out the socialist obligations assumed in honor of the high party forum and are effectively carrying out the tasks confronting them. In all the subunits of the regiment, the training and indoctrinational process and the competition have been precisely organized and a struggle is being carried out efficiently to promptly and effectively fulfill the training plans and programs. Inspired by the historic decisions of the 26th Party Congress, the guardsmen are steadily mastering the weapons and military equipment assigned to them and the most rational procedures for employing them under any situation of modern combined-arms combat. Day in and day out they are improving their tactical, gunnery and special skills and are increasing their readiness to carry out their patriotic and international duty.

The constant successes of the regiment are the natural result of the effective and specific organizational and indoctrinational work carried out by the commanders, the political workers, the party and Komsomol organizations. In achieving these successes a weighty contribution has been made by the sergeants who are the dependable assistants of the officers in the training and indoctrination of the men and in strengthening discipline and maintaining proper order. Here they correctly understand and value that great role which is assigned to the junior commanders in all the diverse ways of military life, and they consider and reasonably use the fact that this most numerous category of command personnel is closest of all to the soldiers and is able to know each of them thoroughly, and not only daily but hourly influence their attitude toward service and be constantly concerned with developing in their subordinates high moral-political and combat qualities. The command, the party and Komsomol organizations of the regiment are convinced that each sergeant, so to speak, be in his place, know his job and conscientiously carry out his duty. In the unit a rather structured system of training and indoctrinating the junior commanders has come into being and for this reason their professional development has occurred, as a rule, rapidly.

Work with the newly arrived sergeants in the regiment starts literally on the first day. The commanders and the political workers and the staff officers carefully study the recommendations for the graduates of the training divisions and in individual talks study their political and professional qualities, abilities and character traits. In special exercises they immediately check the level of their preparation for the basic training subjects. This is considered later both in assigning the new men to the subunits and appointing them to positions as well as in further work with them.

In the process of such thorough familiarization it was discovered, for example, that certain of the training subunit graduates who had come in the previous autumn did not have sufficient command skills. In this regard, a special course was held in the regiment for the young sergeants. In this the young commanders were told about the training plans and programs for the specialists during the training period, the procedure for organizing the training process, the rules for operating and safe-keeping the military equipment and weapons and the procedure for utilizing the technical facilities. Then they attended the commander, demonstration and instructor-procedural exercises on tactical, technical, gunnery, drill and physical training, the driving of combat vehicles and defense against weapons of mass destruction.

The regimental commander paid close attention to the course for the sergeants. He personally directed the commander and procedural exercises on the most difficult questions; he conducted a number of talks on military indoctrination and the organization of the competition and supervised how the sergeants were being trained by the subunit commanders and the service chiefs of the unit. Under the direct leadership of the regimental zampolit, Guards Lt Col V. Ryabov, a large amount of ideological indoctrination was carried out with the sergeants. Upon his orders and the instructions of the party committee, many communist officers gave lectures and reports in which they explained the decisions of the October (1980) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the Fourth Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and with the opening of the 26th Party Congress undertook a study and explanation of its materials. In this work a large place has been given over to propagandizing the remarkable achievements of the Soviet people in the creation of communism. The party activists have shown the junior commanders the reasons for the exacerbation of the international situation, for the increased military danger and the demands of the party and the USSR Minister of Defense on the combat training of the Armed Forces. Proper attention has been given to indoctrinating the men in the military traditions of the regiment. Organized during the difficult years of the Great Patriotic War, it participated in many engagements; it won two orders and received the title of guards.

The effective work of the command, the party and Komsomol organizations has produced results. A majority of the sergeants correctly understand the objectives in the training and indoctrination of the personnel; they have mastered the most effective methods and procedures of work, and most importantly consider themselves responsible for the quality and effectiveness of the training and indoctrination process. In conducting exercises in the classrooms, on the drill field, the tactical training field or the tank driving range, they conscientiously and confidently carry out their service duties. Not being content with the achieved level, the regiment has intensified the efforts aimed at developing their commander qualities.

The well-organized training in the battalion has contributed to the development of the sergeants as the commanders and indoctrinators of the men. Thus, in the

battalion under the command of Guards Maj I. Cherepov, each month in special practical exercises the sergeants improve their skills in organizing combat on the terrain during the day and at night and in leading the crews in an offensive, on the defensive, in reconnaissance and on a march. They also learned to make most effective use of the equipment and weapons in a mountainous locale. The battalion commander organizes the exercises with the sergeants. He gives particular significance to developing in the junior commanders the ability to observe the battlefield, to intelligently assess the situation, to show initiative, to take sound decisions and even in a difficult situation to firmly and steadily carry them out. All of this has brought good results as was confirmed by one of the tactical exercises.

...In traveling several-score kilometers over difficult mountain roads, the tank battalion entered "battle" from a march position. The troops precisely reformed from a column into an approach-march formation and then a battle formation and attacked the defending troops without a halt. In acting assertively and in skillfully utilizing the results of the fire strike, they rapidly rushed the forward edge of the "enemy" and captured its strongpoints.

Deep in the defenses, the right flank of the battalion where the platoon of Guards Sr Lt Yu. Zhurayev was advancing, encountered stubborn "enemy" resistance. In complicating the situation, the umpire under the exercise leader gave the input "commander knocked out." At this crucial moment of the "combat," Guards Sr Sgt V. Tanasyuk assumed command of the platoon. Under his leadership, the men skillfully employed the terrain; they crossed obstacles; they effectively utilized the speed capabilities of the combat vehicles and accurately fired all types of weapons while moving. The tank troops honorably carried out the mission given them. At this exercise other sergeants also demonstrated good commander training. They clearly transmitted commands the signals received from the platoon commanders to the subordinates. In continuously observing the field of "battle," they promptly gave the men tasks to hit targets; they worked for active and enterprising actions; and when they were forced by circumstances similar to those of Guards Sr Sgt V. Tanasyuk, they ably assumed command of the next highest subunit.

In the regiment a great deal of time and energy is devoted to the pedagogical training of the sergeants. The basic form of training is instructor-procedural exercises. These are planned in the exercise schedule and are conducted prior to the working out with the personnel of each new subject in tactical, gunnery and technical training and other subjects. Pedagogical training has been well organized in the best tank company in the regiment under the command of Guards Capt Yu. Man'kov. Characteristic of him is a desire to provide the sergeants with unified specific views and precise procedural recommendations on working out one or another question of a subject with the tank troops. Also beneficial is his advice on how to make better use of the trainers and to organize a contest among the men for the tasks and standards. Here the experienced commander makes certain that in the exercises the sergeants not only deepen their theoretical knowledge but also gain practical skills as the leaders of training and the organizers of the competition in the squads, teams and crews.

Instruction sessions as well as individual talks in approving the outline plans for forthcoming exercises have also become an effective form of sergeant training in the outstanding company. Before putting their signature beneath the word "approved,"

the company officers make certain that the sergeants have a good knowledge of the subject and the requirements of the regulations, instructions and manuals and have a clear understanding of the procedure for working out the training questions as well as for organizing the competition for the tasks and standards and how to see to it that all the tank troops are active in an exercise.

Together with professional training, the commanders, the political workers and the party organizations of the subunits constantly instill the skills of indoctrination in the sergeants. First of all they are concerned with their ideological conditioning and an activist position in life and work for a thorough assimilation of the program material studied in the political exercises and the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress. The officers, the communists and the Komsomol activists help the sergeants master the methods of carefully studying the recommended works of V. I. Lenin, the party documents, the works and speeches of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and the other party and government leaders. In all the sergeant groups, the first political exercises devoted to studying the materials of the 26th CPSU Congress have been held effectively and with great involvement of the students. The general party requirements have been closely linked to the tasks which the personnel of the unit must carry out. The rise in the political knowledge of the sergeants has told beneficially on their service, on raising activeness in political work and in strengthening military discipline in the subunits.

For example, sergeant indoctrinators are skillfully developed in the tank battalion under the command of Guards Lt Col S. Oganessian. Here weekly analyses of their service activities have become an effective form of training. These are conducted company-by-company and at the same time. In the analyses they discuss the questions of disciplinary practices of the junior commanders and how they maintain proper order and a healthy moral atmosphere in the squads, teams and crews as well as correct relationships with subordinates. The discussion is specific and instructive. This is also largely aided by the method of conducting the analyses. Initially the sergeants describe their work and then the floor is turned over to the platoon commanders. In conclusion, the company commander speaks. He assesses the indoctrinational activities of the sergeants and gives them their tasks for the next week. Here the attention of the junior commanders is focused not only on the negative aspects, for example on the loose exactingness for subordinates or the inability to consider the individual features of the soldiers. Emphasis is also put on disclosing advanced experience. The best sergeants tell their comrades how on a basis of strict exactingness and a check of execution they gain from their subordinates the exemplary carrying out of military duty, the orders and instructions and the precise observance of the daily regimen. In adopting their experience, the other junior commanders more confidently carry out their duties and improve their pedagogical skills.

The regimental party committee constantly focuses the subunit commanders, political workers and party organizations on strengthening attention to the problem of developing the sergeants. The questions related to raising the ideological-political, professional and procedural skills of the junior commanders and to strengthening their authority are discussed periodically at its sessions and the meetings of the staff party organization. During this training year, the party committee began to make wider use of such an effective form of indoctrination as hearing reports by the communist leaders on the development of the sergeants, improving their command qualities and strengthening their authority among the soldiers.

The constantly strengthening influence of the party committee on all aspects of the life of the regiment's personnel, including on improving the skills of the junior commanders, is determined by the fact that a majority of its members are pedagogically and professionally the best trained officers. Out of service duty they take an active part in planning the training of the sergeants, they directly conduct exercises with them and exercise control over the training process. Due to the skills, experience and tenacity of the party committee members such as Officers V. Frolov, V. Shadrin, I. Sukhonenko, R. Mingaliyev and others, many sergeants have acquired the skills of firm command of the crews in various types of combat.

Characteristic of all the members of the party committee is an activist position in life, a desire to carry out one's service and social duties conscientiously and a principled approach to assessing what has been achieved. In working in the subunits and in being present at tactical exercises and drills and field firings, they analyze the state of the training and indoctrination process, they compare and assess the various training methods and procedures, they show increased alertness for all that is new and progressive, they decisively halt indulgences and oversimplification, including in the training of the sergeants, and ably direct the activities of the party organizations. In disclosing the reason for one or another shortcoming, the party committee members immediately, on the spot, provide concrete help to the commanders and political workers of the subunits in eliminating it.

The generalization and dissemination of advanced experience are subjects of constant concern for them. For example, one of the companies has trained high-class specialists in a short period of time while another has employed trainers with the greatest effect and so forth. The party activists spot all of this in order to make the positive experience available to others. Let me give specific examples.

In the subunit of Guards Sr Lt V. Kozlov, Guards Pvt G. Aliyev assumed the position of gunner. In the first and subsequent firings the new man was unable to carry out the gunnery exercises as he was poorly prepared. The tank commander, Guards Sr Sgt Yu. Kazakov, worked a great deal and patiently with the lagging man. And then came the next testing of the skills of the crew. This time the soldier did brilliantly and hit all three targets. This was a happy event not only for Guards Pvt Aliyev but also for his fellow servicemen. The regimental zampolit commended the soldier. However, the officer did not limit himself to this. He took an interest in why the success had been achieved. He spoke with the soldier and with his commander. The secret was discovered. It turned out that the tank commander, considering the psychological features of his subordinate, had skillfully conducted individual training of the man on a training simulator. Guards Sr Sgt Yu. Kazakov shared his experience upon the advice of the political worker. The next day sergeants from other companies listened with interest to him.

Or here is an example on another level. At one time, in inspecting the course of the training process in one of the subunits, the party committee member, Guards Maj V. Frolov, encountered the following fact. In formation, Guards Pvt I. Petrenko violated military discipline. The platoon commander, Guards Lt S. Vatulin, immediately punished him.

"But why not let the commander of the crew in which the guilty man served do this?" asked the party committee member. "Certainly the sergeant was right there."

"What difference does it make?" replied the officer. "The main thing was that there was a reprimand for a violation of order and now this will teach the others."

On the same day, Guards Maj V. Frolov held a talk with the company officers and showed the indecisiveness of the actions of Lt S. Vatulin. The officer agreed that he has missed an opportunity to let a junior commander participate in indoctrinating a subordinate. V. Frolov could have left the subunit with a feeling of a job well done if there had not been one "but." The problem was that he had encountered similar instances here before. Ordinary and not in any way remarkable, at the same time they shed light on a major problem. The subunit underestimated the sergeants as indoctrinators, as supporters of proper order and strong military discipline, and took over from them.

Maj Frolov shared his thoughts with the regimental commander, its zampolit and the party committee secretary. They, of course, knew that instances of taking over for the sergeants in certain subunits were still encountered and each in his own way had undertaken measures to eliminate them. Now the decision was taken to set to work together.

Having assembled the officers, the regimental commander drew their attention to the arising problem and using specific examples showed the perniciousness of constantly interfering with the work of the junior commanders. Take over for a sergeant once or twice and by the third time he no longer shows independence and initiative but constantly glances to the officer. The regimental commander also pointed to the sources of such interference. It is much more difficult to teach a sergeant the art of indoctrinating and being exacting and strong willed than it is to train him in his specialty. Time, skill and patience are required. Hence the young officer sets out on a seemingly easier course of taking over for the sergeant. And then, sooner or later, he learns that he has chosen the most difficult way. Such an officer is overburdened with service matters, from sun-up to sun-down he is in the subunit and tries to do everything himself.

Upon the initiative of the party committee, this problem was discussed in detail with the officers and in the battalions. On following days the members of the agitation and propaganda group gave lectures for the officers on: "The Sergeant--A Demanding and Strong-Willed Commander and Able Indoctrinator," and "The Sergeants and Proper Order." Demonstration exercises were organized for the platoon and company commanders and here they were again shown how great the role of the sergeants is in organizing fruitful training and maintaining proper order.

At its next meeting, the regimental party committee reviewed the question of improving indoctrination for the junior commanders. The decision approved by it obliged the communists to be truly concerned with the development of the sergeants and outlined a number of measures. In particular, it was recommended that they discuss the question of indoctrinating the junior commanders in the party organizations and party groups of the subunits. The activists helped define the subject for the sergeant lectures and to improve the work of the Komsomol organization with the sergeants the predominant majority of whom were Komsomol members.

Due to the tenacity of the party committee in carrying out the decision approved by it, the activities of the sergeant lecture series were significantly increased.

Experienced propagandists who were the best trained staff officers and the subunit commanders and political workers armed the junior commanders with the bases of military pedagogics and psychology and explained to them the principles, methods and procedures for training and indoctrinating the personnel as well as the requirements of the documents which regulate the organization of military and political training. The men were reminded of the lectures which were profound in content and full of instructive examples from the life of the regiment. These lectures which were given by Officers V. Frolov and V. Ryabov were on "The Demands of the 26th CPSU Congress on the Combat Readiness of the Armed Forces," "The Sergeant--The Organizer of the Training and Indoctrination of Soldiers" and "The Ways for Strengthening Military Discipline."

The unit Komsomol organization began to pay more attention to the development of the junior commanders. The Komsomol committee and bureau heard their reports on how they were increasing their ideological level and professional skills, developing a situation of friendship and comradeship in the crews, squads and teams, and organizing mutual aid among the men in military training and in the competition. The involvement of the Komsomol sergeants in active social work, effective aid to them in indoctrinating the soldiers, the holding of evening meetings for the exchange of experience, the issuing of bulletins devoted to the best commanders and the organizing together with the unit club of speeches over the local radio by the leading sergeants and the masters of sharpshooting and tank driving--all of this became a sphere of active undertakings by the regimental Komsomol committee and the Komsomol organizations of the subunits.

By common efforts the regimental command, the commanders, the political workers and the party and Komsomol organizations are successfully training and indoctrinating the sergeant personnel. A predominant majority of the junior commanders in the regiment are active proponents of effective training, strong discipline and leaders in the socialist competition. Along with the officers and warrant officers ["praporshchik "], the sergeants are mobilizing the men to struggle to carry out the tasks posed for the Armed Forces by the 26th CPSU Congress.

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GROUND FORCES

ANTI-TANK TRAINING

Moscow ZNAMENOSETS in Russian No 4, Apr 81 (signed to press 23 Mar 81) p 7

[Article by V. Astashenkov, Red Banner North Caucasus Military District: "First Launch"]

[Text] The Gazik of the exercise director rolled up to the firing position of the tank destroyers immediately after the battle. Listening to the report of the platoon leader, Warrant Officer [praporshchik] Moskovchenko, the general ordered him to form up his subordinates.

"You fight well, comrades," he addressed the artillerymen who were standing stiffly in formation. "Skillfully. And... beautifully!" The general smiled. "But this-- it is the effects of simulation. But what about live launches?"

"We will not fail, comrade general!" the platoon leader answered for his subordinates.

"Well, we shall see." The general turned to the formation and announced loudly: "Whoever is ready for a live launching--two steps forward!"

The formation swayed, and in a second almost all the gunner-operators were standing forward. Aleksey Vikulov also took two steps forward.

The general slowly trooped the rank of volunteers. He stopped next to Aleksey.

"Driver?"

"Yes, sir. Driver-mechanic of combat vehicle Private Vikulov!"

Taking in the tall, broad-shouldered figure of the soldier with a warm glance, the general turned toward the warrant officer:

"Is Private Vikulov ready to conduct a live launching?"

"Completely, comrade general," the platoon leader answered.

"Well, we will also see how you master allied specialties."

They moved out to the location for live firings on their vehicles. At the start line Vikulov checked the placement of the projectile on the launching rail and prepared the sight. The gunner-operator made himself a little more comfortable on the seat and reported readiness.

The operator was not allowed to know when and from where the target would appear. Clinging to the eyepiece of the sight, Aleksey looked attentively at the snow-covered plain of the range which was brought closer by the optics. He never thought that it was so plowed over by wheels and tracks and dug up with the black craters of shells and mortar rounds. And somewhere in this white unexamined field a target suddenly comes to life in order to travel several dozen meters and to disappear again, as if it was dissolved.

He was dazzled by the tension. Aleksey closed up his eyes tight for a second, and when he again looked in the eyepiece--the target had already moved! A small rectangle with obliquely cut off upper angles which were hardly distinguishable against the background of gray snow displaced on the left at an angle to the plane of fire--a "tank!"

"I must have missed the target's moving out!" cut the thought which responded in his heart with bitterness and annoyance. And suddenly his hands froze as if they were disobedient and his face began to blaze hotly. Alarming thoughts appeared: "The launching rail has no time to turn.... How much longer will the target move. Will I really fail?"

And suddenly he became furious. With himself. With his confusion and weakness for a second. Aleksey even ground his teeth. And then, for some reason he grew calm. The hands became firmer and more confident and his movements more precise. He selected the moment and pressed the button sharply.

Launch! A bright yellow tracer flew into the eyepiece from above. Vikulov immediately "caught" the projectile and brought it onto the required trajectory. The anti-tank guided rocket [PTUR], following his commands obediently, moved as if along a thread. For want of habit, it is difficult to determine how far the projectile is from the target and it is difficult to guess when the PTUR should be moved into the outline. But during drills on the simulator, Aleksey developed a unique sense of projectile flight. And now, he lived with one thought--to succeed in destroying the target before it completed its run.

He accurately guided the projectile into the target's outline and unexpectedly understood that the target was just about to fall. He touched the control lever slightly, as if trying to drive the projectile on and force it to fly faster. The target fell, and Aleksey never understood--did he hit it or not....

The combat vehicle stopped at the start line. Vikulov sat for a moment, looking at the instrument panel thoughtlessly. It was as if fatigue and annoyance pressed on his shoulders and caused his heart to ache. He forced himself to climb out of the vehicle with difficulty. He jumped to the ground and reported clearly that he had completed the firing.

"Are you suffering?" the general asked sympathetically. "There is no reason to grieve: the range operator reported--the target was destroyed. Good work!"

Only then did Aleksey see that the officers and the platoon leader, Warrant Officer Moskovchenko were smiling.

"I serve the Soviet Union!" Aleksey uttered happily and energetically.

"I heard," continued the general, "that you are also an excellent driver. In short, a real artilleryman!"

"He inherited it," noted Warrant Officer Moskovchenko in jest.

"Inherited?" the general's eyebrows were raised with surprise.

"The grandfather of Private Vikulov," said Moskovchenko seriously by now, "reached Berlin in the crew of a forty-five, his father served his conscript service in the artillery, and now the younger Vikulov destroys the target with the first launch...."

"A good legacy!" the general noted.

Aleksey walked with the warrant officer toward the artillerymen who were located at some distance.

"You became anxious," the platoon leader said softly, "and so you missed the appearance of the target. Then, evidently, you collected yourself and remembered what I had taught you. You 'picked' up the projectile correctly. You guided it clearly, without jerking. You brought it to the target's outline in time. And when the target began to fall--you pulled the control lever. Barely. That is why you did not land beneath the 'turret,' but somewhere in the upper right corner. By the way, not bad for the first live launch. We will drill."

Aleksey listened with concentration. Moskovchenko spoke as if he sat next to him at the control panel. About errors and about excitement. And the heart, well what can you do with it,--it sings! For he got a hit. Even if in the upper right corner... but it was a hit. He hit!...

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GROUND FORCES

TANK MAINTENANCE, TRAINING

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[Article by WD N. Bondarenko, senior tank company technician, Central Asian MD:
"Expanding the Horizon"]

[Text] Under mountain conditions, the running gear, power drive, and engine of the tank experience additional loads as a result of which the probability of various breakdowns is increased. Understanding this, the officers of our subunit are striving to develop and consolidate in the driver-mechanics the necessary skills in servicing the materiel on planned lessons and on vehicle-maintenance days. Lessons in the technical study group also play a substantial role.

The classroom on the maintenance of armored equipment where the lessons are conducted is well equipped. Here we have a completely equipped tank, its operating units and assemblies are set up separately, and there are many graphic aids and models in the classroom. All this permits the effective training of the specialists.

I am also assigned often to conduct lessons in the study group. As a rule, I stress the acquisition and consolidation of practical skills. Thus, to check and adjust the tension of the tracks there are three work sites in the classroom--two directly on the tank and one separate on which the cut-away of an idler wheel is given. Thanks to this, each driver-mechanic can accomplish the practical adjustment of track tension. Senior driver-mechanics Private First Class B. Shirokov and Private N. Kozhakhmetov help me to check the actions of the soldiers.

It is comparatively easy to consolidate the knowledge and skills which the tankers obtain in daily combat training. It is more difficult to set up a practical lesson if one or another subject is not studied ahead of time. But, as our experience shows, it is namely this direction of the work of the technical study group which brings the greatest value.

On mountain routes, the driver mechanic who is sitting at the tank controls must continuously maneuver, brake, and soften the strikes of the combat vehicle against rocks. Such operation of the tank leads to great wear and, at times, even to the burning of the brake bands of the planetary turning mechanism. This is why the turning mechanism and its control drive require thorough checking. Most often, the necessity arises to adjust and even change the worn brake bands.

Just how can the equipment be maintained in constant good working order if the men begin to study some of the problems in its servicing and repair only after some time? A way out was found in our subunit. Considering the specific nature of mountain conditions, the subunit commander recommended studying with the young specialists problems in the servicing and repair of the PMP [planetary turning mechanism] in the technical study group, that is, ahead of the plan for combat training.

On one of the first lessons in the classroom, using a model and a real assembly the men mastered the principle of operation of the planetary turning mechanism and cleared up the procedure for measuring the gap between the belt and the brake drum and the method for its adjustment. Then Privates S. Kazanskiy, A. Akhmedov, and other soldiers who joined us recently accomplished the necessary operations in turn. I began the next lesson with a check of knowledge of the material on the subject which had been covered. It was evident that the soldiers had mastered the adjustment of the PMP. And on one of the vehicle-maintenance days, when it was required to perform such work on a training combat vehicle, Private Kazanskiy coped with the assignment successfully: he adjusted the planetary turning mechanism independently.

With consideration of the specific nature in operating armored equipment on mountain and desert terrain, we also studied other questions. One of the lessons in the study group was devoted to an examination of the rules for caring for materiel under conditions of increased dust. Road dust on mountain routes contains many solid microparticles which possess abrasive properties. The landing of these particles in the mechanism leads to the rapid wear of rubbing parts. Therefore, we attach primary significance to servicing filters.

I involve our best driver-mechanics of the combat training vehicles, Private First Class B. Shirokov and Private N. Kozhakhmetov, in conducting practical work on the materiel. Under their leadership, the young soldiers remove the air cleaner and fuel and oil filters; here, in the classroom, they wash them on the work benches and put them in place. The task consists of helping the young specialists to master the necessary sequence of operations in assembly and to accomplish the maintenance of the systems with high quality.

At first, of course, not everything proceeded smoothly. Thus, Private Akhmedov was unable to pump through the piping of the fuel system--he did not know how to use the pump. Other young specialists also committed errors. However, they quickly mastered the necessary procedures with the assistance of their more experienced comrades.

The technical study group also helps the men in the period of preparation for exercises. At this time, we devote primary attention to questions of servicing the tanks on the march on lessons in the study group. We teach the tankers how to check the replenishing of the vehicles with fuel, oil, and coolant, how to drain off the sediment from the fuel tanks or to conduct refueling using individual equipment, and so forth. It would even appear that certain problems must be repeated. Thus, it was learned that Privates A. Akhmedov and S. Balalayev did not have firm skills in servicing fuel systems and in removing the gear box and adjusting the free play of the engine clutch pedal. Private First Class Shirokov helped the soldiers to eliminate the gap in their knowledge. On the tactical exercise which was subsequently conducted, the driver-mechanics operated confidently.

Thus, the tankers are raising their military skill which, as was stated in the summary report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th Party Congress, is an important component of the Soviet Armed Forces' combat potential.

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NAVAL FORCES

ACOUSTIC TRAINING ON ATTACK SUBMARINE

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[Article by Capt 1st Rank N. Radchenko: "Naval Duels on a Screen"]

[Text] The navigator did not make a mistake in his calculations. The ship hunter-killer group arrived at the square of the blue sea where the scout plane had pinpointed an "enemy" submarine, on time. It now remained to discover it and attack it with all types of antisubmarine weapons.

A submarine, of course, is not a needle; however, in the ocean depths it is no simpler to find a submarine than a needle in a haystack. It goes without saying, scientific and technical progress improved combat means considerably and expanded the tactical capabilities for combating danger from the depths. However, the search and destruction of the underwater enemy remains one of the most difficult problems of combat training. The seamen of varied naval forces--surface sailors, submariners, and aviators--are learning indefatigably and constantly to solve it successfully.

By the time that the antisubmarine warfare [ASW] ships arrived over the search area, the airplanes were already patrolling, having emplaced radio sonobuoys on the submarine's probable courses of movement. Their coordinates arrived from the commander of the air group and the navigator immediately plotted them on the plotting board. A hunter-killer submarine also reported to the commander of the search forces concerning the start of his actions.

A voice is heard in the dynamic loudspeaker of the loudspeaker communication system:

"Comrade commander, an airplane reports: buoy number...triggered."

"Roger. Navigator, calculate the course to close with the target!"

Thus, the aviators were the first to establish contact with the "enemy" submarine. Now the search would pick up the necessary acceleration, the ring around the enemy submarine will be compressed in a conical spiral, and the swift attack with all types of antisubmarine weapons will sound the finale of the naval battle. It remains for us to explain that the only real things in this duel were the ASW crews and the air crews, that is...people. Everything else--the ocean, ships, aircraft--were lit up by silhouettes on a screen in the "Ataka" [attack] training room of one of the ship forces of the Red Banner Northern Fleet. The main producer of this

training battle was a short, light-haired warrant officer [michman] in a double breasted jacket with the blue rhombus of an institute.

Let us introduce him: Viktor Yefimovich Bronnikov is chief of the room. Since the first commands sounded, almost no one saw or heard him. He appeared only when his presence was required by one of the instruments. Although the warrant officer himself saw and heard everything which occurred on the screen and in the classroom in general and, on critiques, could reproduce any situation or show an error committed by any one of the trainees. And at such moments he was an impartial and uncompromising judge whose conclusions no one could dispute. For as the seamen say in jest, Warrant Officer Bronnikov has a computer in the place of his head.

Viktor Yefimovich himself entered this training room for the first time 18 years ago while still quite a young extended-service serviceman but already a mature ship's specialist. As he now acknowledges, he did not experience joy and inspiration from his new assignment. During his entire conscript service Bronnikov sailed on ships of the most modern construction and had become accustomed to the ideal cleanliness and naval brilliance which reign at the battle stations of the radio engineering service. But here, Bronnikov estimated, much strength and energy must be expended to bring about order. And the unbidden thought nearly stirred: should he return to his "Moskovskiy Komsomolets" where, by then, his combat information center (BIP) had become the best in the force.

Such a thought flared up and was suppressed at once because another arrived in time: in the Bronnikov family no one backed away from difficulties. Moreover, his father would say more sternly: "Do you want to clear out?" But Viktor loved his father from his earliest years and considered him the highest authority. And there was good reason for this. Petty Officer 1st Class Yefim Petrovich Bronnikov, a Black Sea ASW man, volunteered for the naval infantry after the first salvos of the war, fought in the trenches at Odessa and Sevastopol', and participated in the hot battles on Mt. Sapun in May 1944. The petty officer returned home with orders on his duck jumper and scars on his body. He carried a fragment near his heart for a long time. It, this cursed fragment, in time sent Yefim Petrovich to his grave.

By that time, two years had passed since his father had been buried but, at moments of difficult meditations, Viktor Bronnikov always consulted with him mentally as if he were alive. No, the father would not have approved of his running away. He must get on with the work.

Bronnikov was assigned to the room as the senior instructor of the sonarman. The duties were no novelty. Back in his second year of conscript service Viktor had passed the officer tests for permission to control the radio engineering service independently. He passed it simply as a matter of interest because at that time the chief of the crew of BIP radiometrists did not require this of him. But he was often left as the chief of service and correctly assumed that although temporary, he had to control the subunit in a qualified manner.

Bronnikov became utterly engrossed in his new work. And there was more than enough to do on the room. First of all, it was necessary to recondition the premises.

"In short," he recalls, "the entire training team rolled up its sleeves and began to master repair and construction work. The ship's specialists hurried: "Let us finish the room!"

We recall: the time at which Warrant Officer began his "shore career" was significant. In the interests of the country's defense, the fleet emerged on the expanses of the world ocean. Contemporary combat equipment and armament were created by the golden hands of the Soviet people who were inspired by the party and the government and they arrived on the ships. In the course of their mastery, the necessity arose to search for more effective methods and means for training the seamen. Trainers and simulators were one of the directions for the solution of this problem. Installed in shore rooms, they gave commanders of ships and their ASW sections the opportunity to work out the most varied elements in the destruction of submarines on the days when they were moored. Moreover, any model of a sea battle could be created on the screen.

In addition to the indisputable advantages of a purely training plan, such a room provides a tremendous economic impact. "Sailing" on the screen saves motor capacity and fuel. Dozens of specialists can learn effectively here and raise their skill without driving expensive ship's equipment to no purpose.

An important goal engenders great energy. After only several months of work by the seamen the former old half-basement room became unrecognizable. It was light, comfortable, dry, and warm. The ship's seamen were pleased that at last they had received at their disposal such a well-organized room. Of course, they never thought of how many nerves the trouble in equipping the room and installing the trainers cost Warrant Officer Bronnikov and his colleagues. For even supported by planned allowances it is not so simple to extract from close-fisted fleet supply personnel another bag of cement, a brick-making machine, or 10 meters of cable. And hundreds rather than dozens of meters of this cable were necessary for installation.

However, for the outsider all these efforts remained somewhere outside the picture. The main thing was that the room came to life and sea duels with the imaginary enemy were already being gamed on its screen. Soon Warrant Officer Bronnikov himself was transformed from a senior instructor to the room chief and felt the entire weight of the burden which he had assumed on his shoulders. This time, he greeted the assignment with joy because he saw the value of his work with his own eyes and the new matter entirely seized his inquisitive nature. Sitting at his desk for hours, he looked for reserves for a further expansion of the training room's capabilities so that not only the ship's ASW sections could work here simultaneously, but also submariners and aviators without whose participation in the search for contemporary submarines the desired result would not be attained.

And when Viktor Yefimovich tried to express the ideas which crowded his head graphically on tracing paper and Whatman drawing paper, he felt that nine grades of education evidently were insufficient for him for this. One must study! "The entire family began to learn then," he recalls. "Svetlanka, my little daughter, entered the first grade, Mama--the ninth, and the father of the family, the tenth." Receiving a certificate, Viktor Yefimovich submitted documents for the correspondence department of the Krasnodar Institute of Radio-Electronic Instrument Building without wavering....

I met Warrant Officer Bronnikov on the good advice of Vice Admiral Ye. I. Volobuyev. Learning that I was to go on temporary duty to the Northern Fleet, Yevgeniy Ivanovich was enlivened:

"Drop in on Bronnikov, a very interesting person."

I have been acquainted with Yevgeniy Ivanovich Volobuyev for a long time. He never showers praise in advance. But he does not know Bronnikov by hearsay. At one time, Rear Admiral Volobuyev commanded this force and, of course, much of what was done in the room did not take place without his participation and assistance.

Everything that I had the occasion to see causes the admiration both of the man and the fruits of his golden hands. Now, this is no longer simply a room, but an entire training complex. Viktor Yefimovich does not like to dwell on his services himself. He relates with warmth how he was helped by the very same Yevgeniy Ivanovich Volobuyev, Rear Admiral D. K. Chulkov, and staff officers. He praised his assistants --Warrant Officer Vladimir Rud' and Petty Officer 1st Class Vladimir Boyko. He willingly shared his plans and intentions.

In listening to Viktor Yefimovich, I caught myself thinking that with his capabilities he could fully dare to undertake a candidate's dissertation, too. "I have no time, and I have trouble with my health," Bronnikov joked in this regard. And I thought: it is remarkable that the institution of warrant officers [praporshchik and michman] now has such men as Viktor Yefimovich and cadres--people with lofty party spirit who possess varied professional knowledge. Any difficult matter is within their power.

...Frosty crispness and the aroma of the ocean wafted into the room. It was a new group of seamen from the ships which had arrived for lessons. They were placed at the trainers and instruments. The room continued to live with its daily concerns. The training naval duels proceeded with increasing dynamism.

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PERCEPTIONS, VIEWS, COMMENTS

VIEWS ON NATO, U.S. MEDITERRANEAN POLICY

Moscow KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL in Russian No 7, Apr 81 (signed to press 18 Mar 81) pp 80-85

[Review by Lt Col Yu. Sedov: "The Mediterranean in the Expansionistic Plans of the Imperialist Reaction"]

[Text] The year 1981 has commenced in a complex clash between the forces of peace and the forces of aggression. In refusing to consider the realities of the modern world, including the strengthening of the positions of socialism, the successes of the national liberation movement and the greater influence of the freedom-loving democratic forces, the imperialists headed by the bosses of the U.S. military industrial complex have set out on a policy of increasing military preparations and are endeavoring to disrupt the existing military equilibrium in the world in their favor and to the detriment of the USSR and the other countries of the socialist commonwealth, to the detriment of international detente and security of peoples.

"Adventurism, a readiness to wager the vital interests of mankind for the sake of their narrow, selfish aims," emphasizes the Accountability Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th Party Congress which was given by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "this is what is particularly apparent in the policy of the most aggressive circles of imperialism."

The Mediterranean holds a special place in the clash of the forces of war and the forces of peace. Three continents--Europe, Africa and Asia--are washed by the waves of the Mediterranean and around their shores lie 17 states with a population of around 300 million persons. For an extended period of time this region has been an arena of an acute clash between the peoples inhabiting it and foreign invaders and between the imperialist predators for reapportioning the spheres of influence. In the postwar period the U.S. monopolists have played the role of the newly appeared enslavers of the cradle of European civilization. The sea-blue basin of the "sea in the middle of the earth" and the shores washed by it are viewed with longing by the American strategists primarily as a bridgehead in the struggle against the USSR and the other socialist countries. Here the imperialists are wagering chiefly on the use of "methods of force," including nuclear missile strikes.

The ruling circles of the United States and the other NATO countries have endeavored to use this region for influencing the situation in North Africa, the Near and Middle East where around 70 percent of the oil supplies of the capitalist world are located and from whence the NATO countries obtain three-quarters of the consumed

energy resources. The Western monopolies give exceptionally important significance to the lines of communications which ensure the transporting of oil from the "main treasurehouse of black gold" and the outlets into the Atlantic and Indian oceans.

The extensive network of military bases set up in the Mediterranean for carrying out expansionistic aims and the large NATO ground, air and naval forces concentrated in this area are charged, at the same time, of preventing shifts to the left on the southern periphery of Western Europe where a whole series of unsound links can clearly be discerned in the imperialist chain. In the event of abrupt changes in the sociopolitical struggle in such countries as Italy, Greece, Spain and Turkey, the foreign and primarily American military would inevitably come to the aid of the reactionary forces. The U.S. imperialists, in using their dominant positions in NATO, in this region pursue their own aims which far from always coincide with the interests of their Western European partners. Washington has steadily endeavored to expand its influence in the Arab countries, expelling from there its allies of Great Britain and France, in securing unchallenged domination over the rich oil areas and intensifying economic, political and military penetration into Africa.

Motivated by hegemonistic ambitions, the U.S. ruling circles even in the 1940's declared the Mediterranean to be a "zone of American vital interests." The overseas monopolies did not hesitate to resort to flagrant violation in the internal affairs of the region's states or employing overtly imperialistic methods of dictation of terms, pressure and blackmail. "After World War II," wrote the magazine TIME, "the Mediterranean was turned into an American promenade.... An impressive special task force and combat-ready marines were stationed here to defend the southern NATO flank, for landing troops on the shore in the event of political crises or merely for showing the flag of the United States. For an extended period of time the Mediterranean has remained an American lake."

However, such a situation could not last long. The Soviet Union confronted with the growing threat to peaceful sea lines of communications in this region felt it necessary to send its own ships there and these became a serious counterweight to the American military presence in the Mediterranean. Their mission was to assist in maintaining stability and peace in the region. "With the appearance of the Soviet fleet in the Mediterranean," the journal FOREIGN AFFAIRS admitted, "the actions of the Western powers similar to the 1958 intervention when the American marines landed in Lebanon and English troops in Jordan were no longer possible."

The restraining of the aggressive aspirations of the American military in the Mediterranean caused by the presence of the Soviet Navy occurred in parallel with the objective process of the weakening of the positions of imperialism in this region of the world. The liberation movement of the masses of people discarded the pro-American dictatorial regimes in Greece and Spain on the garbage heap of history. In line with the pulling out of France from the NATO military organization in 1966, the United States was forced to evacuate its bases from French territory. The fall of the America-supported shah's regime in Iran accelerated the collapse of the aggressive military-political grouping of CENTO. NATO has called the Greco-Turkish differences a "hemorrhaging area," and these differences led to the halting of Greek membership in the military organization of the bloc from 1974 through 1980, a 4-year idle period for the American bases in Turkey and a restricting of the opportunities of NATO to use Cyprus for its aggressive purposes.

The political and military positions of imperialism have been substantially eroded in the Arab countries in line with the loss of bases in Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco. The forced closure in 1969 of the then-largest American air base outside the U.S. at Wheelus Field, Libya, was a telling blow for the Mediterranean hegemonistic strategy of Washington. It was precisely here that Israeli pilots had been trained on the eve of the 1967 aggression and American air pirates were also trained here prior to leaving for Vietnam right up until the closing of the base.

The hostility of the Arab states towards the United States has continued to grow with the strengthening expansionistic aspirations of American imperialism in the Persian Gulf Area as well as in the Near East, with the support shown by Washington for the aggressive actions of Israel and the traitorous Camp David Accord.

Under these conditions the U.S. monopolists, in resorting to the juggling of absurdities about the "Soviet military threat," have sharply intensified militaristic actions in endeavoring to create a powerful military fist which would be capable of having a decisive effect on the situation in this region of the world. In carrying out the aggressive plans of Washington, a significant role has been assigned to the U.S. Sixth Fleet, one of the means for ensuring the imperial claims of U.S. imperialism in the region and an instrument for flagrant intervention into the internal affairs of the Mediterranean states. "The ships of the Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean," stated the Libyan leader, M. Qadhafi, "are at present, as many years ago, an active means for suppressing the peoples of Africa. This fleet serves as a link in a chain of conspiracies...and supports the reactionary forces."

The fleet includes formations and units of all the branches of the navy. Under ordinary conditions, it includes up to 50 warships and auxiliary vessels, including two multipurpose aircraft carriers (carrying 160-180 airplanes and helicopters on board), 3-4 missile cruisers, 15-20 destroyers and frigates, 5-6 nuclear-powered torpedo-armed submarines, 5-6 landing craft and so forth. The total number of navy personnel reaches 25,000 men.

With the exacerbation of the international situation, the composition of the Sixth Fleet has been increased by 10-25 percent from ships arriving, as a rule, from the United States. Thus, during the period of the American intervention in Lebanon in 1958, 76 U.S. ships and vessels were concentrated in the Mediterranean, and 65 ships during the period of the 1973 Israeli aggression.

At present the Pentagon is flourishing this "big stick" over the region of the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf, and for replacing the ships of the Sixth Fleet, according to a decision of the NATO Military Planning Committee (May 1980), a new task force of the NATO joint navies is to be organized. As is apparent from a statement in the American magazine NEWSWEEK, there are plans to equip the ships of the Sixth Fleet with medium-range nuclear missiles if certain Western European countries refuse to deploy them on their own territories.

The U.S. and NATO strategists are endeavoring to turn the military maneuvers of the Sixth Fleet, like those of the other armed forces stationed in the Mediterranean into a show of force and a means for intimidating the peoples. According to the combat training plan, the ships of the fleet are at sea more than 50 percent of the time, participating in various exercises, including joint ones with the navies of

Italy, Greece, Turkey, Great Britain and France. The operational background of such exercises has a clearly expressed anti-Soviet nature. They are conducted close to explosive areas and, as a rule, involve provocative actions by the American military which has continued to increase the unprecedentedly large naval forces in the Persian Gulf.

In peacetime, the American Sixth Fleet in essence is not subordinate to the NATO command and basically operates independently. Washington has assumed that with the existing contradictions between the NATO members it is better to deprive its partners of an opportunity to obstruct the carrying out of American plans in the Mediterranean by using the ships of the fleet. As is known, during the period of the 1973 Israeli aggression, the Sixth Fleet was brought to a state of high combat alert and its basic forces were concentrated near the combat area. In addition, the Pentagon moved a third carrier force into the Mediterranean. All these actions, as the Western European press wrote with indignation, were undertaken without Washington's prior notification of its NATO allies.

The 16th Squadron of nuclear missile-carrying submarines is exclusively under the authority of the Pentagon and these submarines are one of the components of the U.S. strategic offensive forces. Three or four submarines from this squadron armed with Polaris-A3 or Poseidon ballistic missiles are constantly on patrol in the Mediterranean.

On the maps of the Pentagon and NATO generals, the Mediterranean is most directly related to the NATO Southern European Theater of War (SETW). It includes the territories of Italy, Greece and Turkey as well as the waters of the Mediterranean and the Sea of Marmara, the zone of the Black Sea Straits, and the southern part of the Black Sea. Proximity to the "most unstable, most variable and crisis-prone region" and the related possibility of involving the nations located in the theater of war into limited conflicts or more accurately into U.S. adventures are seen by the Western strategists as the "key" significance to the southern flank of the bloc. In line with the Pentagon's desire to put together a new pro-American military alliance in the Near East and accelerate militaristic preparations in the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf, the role of the SETW in the aggressive plans of the U.S. imperialist circles has recently increased substantially.

In the Western press, Italy is frequently termed the "NATO policeman in the Mediterranean." The enormous military-strategic significance of its territory is determined by the geographic position of the country in the center of the Mediterranean. This "natural aircraft carrier," in the expression of the magazine MONDO NUOVO, "is riddled with NATO infrastructures like a watermelon is with seeds." No less than three-score Italian provinces "give shelter" to U.S. and naval military bases on their lands, and over 10,000 American servicemen alone are stationed at them. A portion of the major airfields of the country such as Aviano, Catania, Villafranca, Ghedi, Gioia and Trapani have been made available to the U.S. and joint NATO air force commands. Naples has become the main base of the Sixth Fleet. Moreover, the American ships regularly enter the naval bases of Gaeta, Augusta, Cagliari and the ports of Brindisi, Livorno, Palermo and others. On the island of La Maddalena there is a base point for American nuclear-powered torpedo-armed submarines.

Italy has been assigned a special role within the so-called new U.S. nuclear strategy. In demonstrating its loyalty to the "principles of Atlantism," Rome gave an

agreement to deploy in the country 112 land-based American cruise missiles aimed at the USSR and the other socialist countries. In the Western press statements have appeared on the Pentagon's plans to deploy chemical weapons on Italian land.

At the same time Washington has not concealed its concern that the frequently-changing Italian governments (in October 1980, the 40th postwar cabinet was formed) did not possess stability. The pages of foreign newspapers have been full of information according to which the United States, so as not to permit a shift to the left in Italy, was ready to use any means including subversion, acts of "psychological warfare," and even direct intervention by the NATO troops.

In the American and NATO strategy on the southern flank of the bloc, the Eastern Mediterranean holds an extremely important place. It is the closest to the USSR and a number of other socialist states and for this reason is considered a convenient staging area for making nuclear missile strikes against these countries. From here also it is possible to control the Black Sea Straits and the Suez Canal and put direct pressure on the states involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict. The strategic importance of the region has increased even more for the NATO bosses after the Iranian card had fallen out of Washington's deck as a result of the overthrow of the shah.

From October 1980, after a 6-year pause, the voice of one of the key countries of the Eastern Mediterranean, Greece, began to be heard again in the motley military chorus of NATO members. Blackmail, pressure, threats and bribes--this entire traditional "gentleman's set" from the arsenal of imperialism was put to work to return the "prodigal daughter" Hellas to the bosom of the NATO military structure. With a whole sheaf of plans, during 1980, Athens was visited by a string of highly-placed American and NATO emissaries. Their aim, as the newspaper RIZOSPASTIS wrote, "is not only to strengthen the American presence in the Mediterranean, but also to take a large portion of Greek territory away from the military control of the authorities of this country. Both in the Pentagon and in the NATO headquarters they were wringing their hands with satisfaction as Athens' decision to return to the military organization of the North Atlantic bloc also lifted the barrier to the signing by the Greek government of agreements initialed in 1977 for extending the operation of American military bases in Greece. It was a question of the naval base at Suda which would be capable of handling the largest vessels of the Sixth Fleet, the Iraklion radio monitoring center on the island of Crete, the naval base of Ellinikon (near Athens) and the communications center at Nea Makri. On Crete was also located a NATO missile range where subunits from the armed forces of the United States, FRG, the Netherlands, Belgium and Greece launched missiles. "The U.S. bases in Greece," emphasized the newspaper NEW YORK TIMES, "will assume unusually important significance if the American 'Rapid Response Troops' must operate in this area."

The decision of the Greek government to return to the NATO military structure caused a wave of protest among broad strata of the nation. The Greek Communist Party characterized such a decision as "the practice of national concessions" and pointed out that it "tethered" the nation to the adventuristic plans of the United States in the Near and Middle East.

"The entire Greek people," stated the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Greek Communist Party, Comrade K. Florakis, from the rostrum of the 26th CPSU

Congress, "with great concern is following the development of the situation in the region. It has not accepted the apostasy of the government which in spite of the will of the people has returned Greece to the NATO military organization. The Greek people are against the talks about a new agreement on the question of American bases. They are also against expanding their network."

The return of Greece to the military orbit of the Atlantic Alliance should help, in the intentions of the Western strategists, to resolve the Cypress problem in accord with the scenario of the West. This problem, as the magazine NEWSWEEK put it, creates a "gaping breach" in the structure of the bloc. For the North Atlantic Pact, the main "inconvenience" is in the very existence of an independent democratic state the government of which is in favor of demilitarizing the island. In order to carry out their strategic goal for Cypress of turning it into a transit staging area for ferrying troops to the Near and Middle East, the imperialists are endeavoring to settle the problem in the NATO "family circle" and in a spirit of "Atlantic solidarity." They have endeavored to force on Cypress a Camp David version of the "dual enosis" plans, that is, to split Cypress between Turkey and Greece having thus turned it into an "unsinkable aircraft carrier of the bloc." Even now the Pentagon is actively using the two English bases of Akrotiri and Dhekalia located here. The American U-2 and RC-135 reconnaissance aircraft operate from Akrotiri, and these conduct reconnaissance not only in the area of the Mediterranean and the Near East but also along the frontiers of the USSR and the other socialist countries.

As is known, Cypress was declared a republic in 1960. However, English imperialism, in leaving the island, left behind two military bases which occupy 3 percent of its territory. The national hostility between the communities of the Cypriot Greeks and Turks intensely fanned from outside was another heritage of the colonialists. After the antigovernment coup provoked by the NATO powers in 1974 and executed by the reactionary Greek officers who demanded the annexation of Cypress to Greece, Turkish troops landed on the island and these occupied 40 percent of its territory. At that moment Greece as a sign of protest against NATO connivance with Turkish actions withdrew from the military organization of the bloc.

The patriotic forces of Cypress supported by the international progressive community have conducted a stubborn struggle to eliminate the consequences of the tragic 1974 events. In UN resolutions and the decisions of many international forums, demands have been advanced to immediately withdraw foreign troops from the territory of the island and to restore its independence and sovereignty. The Cypriots have responded strongly to the consistent position of the USSR which has been in favor of a peaceful settlement of the problem without any outside interference and for the elimination of the foreign military bases located on the island.

In response to the occupation of a part of Cypress by Turkish troops, the U.S. Congress imposed an embargo on arms deliveries to Turkey. Over this issue, in 1975, Ankara halted the operations of American military installations on the territory of its country. However, in October 1978, after lifting the embargo, the Turkish authorities reversed themselves having resumed the activities of the American espionage nests. At the beginning of 1980, an American-Turkish agreement was signed "on cooperation in the area of joint defense" and running for 5 years. Under this agreement the U.S. was to provide Turkey with "aid" amounting to 2.5 billion dollars, and the Pentagon would receive the right of using 40 military installations in Turkey, including 26 bases.

In the words of the NEW YORK TIMES, "Turkey is not only a buffer between Europe and the Near East but it is also a NATO sentry on the southeastern flank which has a common frontier with the Soviet Union and Iran." After the fall of the rotten shah's regime, Turkish territory has become the basic area for the concentration of American and NATO centers of radio and radar intelligence aimed primarily against the USSR. The largest of them are located in Diyarbakir, Sinop and Belbasl. A squadron of American F-4 Phantom fighter bombers is constantly on alert duty at the Injirlik Air Base. The American subunits stationed in Turkey numbering 5,000 men are supplied through the ports of Iskanderon and Umurlyk. Some 18 Turkish airfields have been made available to NATO. The journal NEW STATESMAN has pointed out that the American-Turkish agreement provides the Pentagon with an opportunity to utilize Turkish territory for "transit services" in the event that it is necessary to airlift troop units and supplies into the regions of the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf which Washington has also declared to be a zone of "U.S. vitally important interests."

All of this has caused legitimate concern and indignation in the Turkish community. Thus, the newspaper BARYS has written that the presence of U.S. and NATO military installations can involve the nation in crisis situations in the Near and Middle East against its will and contrary to national interests. In leasing the bases, the newspaper pointed out, Turkey subjects itself to a great risk. In the plans being implemented by the American and NATO strategists for the greatest possible strengthening of the southern NATO flank, in far from the last place are the attempts to harness Spain to the Atlantic chariot and this country, in the words of the magazine MILITARY REVIEW, "not only occupies an advantageous position, being the connecting link with the basic ports in the Mediterranean, but also reinforces the rear of the NATO structure on the southern flank." With the incorporation of Spain in the North Atlantic bloc, Washington is hoping to broaden the network of its military bases on Spanish territory and at the same time make NATO pay for their leasing. At present, in Spain there are four airfields (Torrejon, Maron, Zaragoza and Rota) which are interconnected by an oil pipeline and are designed for use by the U.S. strategic aviation.

Under the pressure of the Spanish public opinion, the Pentagon in July 1979 was forced to rebase its 16th Squadron from the Rota Naval Base to Kings Bay (the United States), but this base continues to be used for calls by the surface vessels of the American Sixth Fleet.

Last year the Spanish government announced its intention in 1981 to raise the question of the nation's entry into the Atlantic Military Alliance. This caused a storm of dissatisfaction among the Spanish community which has rightly felt that the integration of Spain in NATO will lead to a limiting of national sovereignty and to the actual subordination of its foreign policy to Washington's hegemonistic course. It will disrupt the existing balance of forces in Europe and impede the process of detente.

As a bait for drawing Spain into the NATO trap, Washington has endeavored to use the promise of aid in settling the old Anglo-Spanish conflict over Gibraltar which controls the straits between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. Large naval and air bases are located on the territory of this English colony and the United States and NATO have shown increased interest in them. However their "normal operations" have

been impeded by measures undertaken by Spain which restrict communications of Gibraltar with the outside world. London and Madrid have been conducting unsuccessful talks about the fate of Gibraltar since 1966. Spain is hoping to regain these lands (it possessed them for more than 240 years before the start of the 18th century). Great Britain is stubbornly refusing to meet the Spanish side halfway.

The negative attitude of a majority of the countries in the region to creating foreign military installations on their territory has led Washington to the conclusion that "no clear-thinking strategist in the Pentagon can plan the future of the American military presence in the Mediterranean on the basis of the existing base facilities. He would be forced to be seriously concerned with alternative variations." The gates for such variations were opened by the Egyptian-Israeli separate deal which was concluded at Camp David with the direct involvement of the U.S. administration. As subsequent events were to show, the main result of this deal was the creation of the legal bases for increasing the American military presence in the Near East and for forging the militaristic Washington--Tel Aviv--Cairo axis. Here the Pentagon has gradually created bases from which it intends to carry out constant control over the entire region and adjacent regions, including the southern frontiers of the USSR.

Israel is the basic outpost of imperialism in the Near and Middle East. The U.S. monopolies have spent many billions of dollars to "puff up the military muscle" of the Zionist aggressors. In 1980 alone, Washington planned to deliver Israel 40 modern F-16 fighter bombers, 100 M-60A3 tanks, 660 armored personnel carriers and much other military equipment. In sending weapons to the Tel Aviv military, the Pentagon plans in the event of necessity to have these weapons be used by the American armed forces themselves.

After the elimination of the shah's regime in Iran and in line with the large-scale militaristic preparations of the United States in the Near and Middle East, the importance of Israel as a staging area for American imperialism increased even more in the region. In repayment for the "aid" provided, Tel Aviv has already expressed agreement to provide the naval base in Haifa for the U.S. "invasion forces," as well as the air bases of Ramon and Ovda which are being built in the Negev Desert with American money. In addition to them, the Israeli prime minister has proposed that the Pentagon create other military installations on Israeli territory including storage facilities for heavy weapons for the overseas "rapid deployment forces." As the Western press has announced, recently the question has been discussed of concluding an American-Israeli agreement "on mutual defense," and plans are being worked out for conducting joint military exercises in the Near East.

The present Egyptian leadership is also toeing the line of imperialism. Having obediently provided the main bases for the Pentagon, President Sadat has turned the nation into a staging area for the invasion of American military forces into the states of the Arab world, Africa and Asia. In the opinion of the newspaper FINANCIAL TIMES, "if the United States would ever decide to intervene militarily in the Near East, a significant portion of this operation would be carried out through Egypt."

According to an announcement in the journal AFRIQUE-ASIE, one of the bases provided to the American military, Cairo West, is located in a suburb of the Egyptian capital.

In the summer of 1980, for 3 months a squadron of F-4 Phantom aircraft of the U.S. Air Force was stationed here, and Egyptian and American pilots conducted joint flights. Two other military installations are located in Qena (400 km to the south of Cairo) and at Ras Banas on the Red Sea Coast. The base in Qena was used by the Americans in carrying out the armed adventure against Iran in April 1980. The American E-3A AWACS planes also operate from here. Ras Banas is planned to be adapted for basing the B-52 strategic bombers and ships of the U.S. Navy for the permanent stationing of 16,000 American servicemen.

From the end of 1969, Egyptian and American air forces have conducted joint exercises in Egyptian air space. In November 1980, on the territory of the nation maneuvers were held by subunits of the American "rapid deployment troops." Judging from everything, Egyptian territory has in fact been turned into a vast testing grounds for training the imperialist "invasion forces" the main task of which is to suppress the national liberation movements in the Near and Middle East and to defend the oil interests of the overseas monopolies.

The expansionistic aspirations of American imperialism in the Mediterranean and the intensified militaristic actions of the overseas military and its supporters under the cover of a hysterical propaganda campaign about the mythical "Soviet military threat," represent a serious danger both to the countries of this region as well as to all mankind. In contrast to the United States, the USSR is directly next to the Mediterranean and for this reason, as was emphasized by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, we want "the Mediterranean to be a sea of peace, good neighbors and cooperation.... We are profoundly interested in the most favorable development of events in this region of the world." The Mediterranean is connected with the Black Sea which washes the southern shores of the European USSR, and in this sense our state is a Mediterranean power. The routes connecting the USSR with the world's ocean run through the Mediterranean. Here also are the approaches to our frontiers and the lines the defensive significance of which has increased sharply with the accelerated military preparations of American imperialism in the Near and Middle East.

Under the conditions when the militant circles of the imperialist reaction have set out on a policy of sharply exacerbating the international situation, of undermining detente and escalating military tension in many regions of the world, including in the Mediterranean, of particularly profound significance for the Soviet people and for the men of the USSR Armed Forces are the party's instructions that the intrigues of imperialism and the other enemies of peace require constant vigilance and the greatest possible strengthening of the defense capability of our state in order to thwart the plans of imperialism to achieve military superiority and dictate terms to the world.

"The existing military-strategic equilibrium between the USSR and the United States, between the Warsaw Pact and NATO," stated Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress, "objectively serves to preserve peace in our world. We have not sought and do not seek military superiority over the other side. That is not our policy. But we will also not permit the creation of such superiority over us. Such attempts and also talking with us from a position of strength are absolutely futile!"

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PERCEPTIONS, VIEWS, COMMENTS

SOVIET VIEWS ON INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

Moscow KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL in Russian No 9, May 81 (signed to press 17 Apr 81)
pp 73-77

[Article by Col Ye. Dolgopolov, candidate of philosophical sciences: "Political Diversions Under the Cloak of 'The Struggle Against International Terrorism'"]

[Text] The 26th CPSU Congress appraised the development of international events and concluded that there has been a drastic increase of aggressiveness in the policy of imperialism, especially that of American imperialism. The Congress stressed the fact that in the policy of the more aggressive imperialist groups there is especially blatant adventurism and a readiness to place the vital interests of mankind on the line for the sake of their narrow mercenary goals.

Imperialist reaction's course toward the undermining of detente, provocation of the arms race, gross interference in the affairs of others and suppression of the peoples' liberation struggle is accompanied by extensive campaigns of slander. Ever-new propaganda myths are being put into play, intended by their authors to denigrate true socialism, to cast doubt upon the justness and legitimacy of the peoples' struggle for national and social liberation and to justify the imperialists' policy of exporting counterrevolution.

The unsupported, completely false thesis that the Soviet Union is involved in "international terrorism," fabricated by Washington, has recently moved to the fore. Crude attempts are being made to equate terrorism with the peoples' liberation struggle against their oppressors.

This campaign was launched by high-ranking officials in the new American administration--President R. Reagan and Secretary of State A. Haig--in whose talks the thesis of "international terrorism" has been advanced in one or another form. In his very first press conference A. Haig accused the Soviet Union, without offering any proof, of "preparing, financing and equipping international terrorism." "International terrorism," A. Haig stated meaningfully, "will take the place of the 'human rights' problem in our policy." Immediately thereafter the U. S. secretary of state added in an interview granted the Italian newspaper GIORNALE : "I say that at the present time the development representing the chief danger and the chief source of concern for all the free nations is the eruption of international terrorism and related instances of illegal interference--the so-called wars of national liberation, which

are directed by the Soviet Union or its proxies." These thoroughly false mouthings of A. Haig are similar to R. Reagan's assertions--equally far removed from the truth--about some sort of "treachery" in the policy of the Soviet Union, which, they would have it believed, has set itself the goal of "creating a world socialist or communist state."

Many American press agencies, U.S. political and military figures and "sovietologists" of various breeds, known for their anticommunist, anti-Soviet views, have joined in the propaganda fuss surrounding the myth of the USSR's participation in "international terrorism." These include former CIA director Admiral S. Turner, who has asserted with troublesome persistence that the USSR is engaged in "interference throughout the world," and America's Professor R. Pipes, who under scientific guise is attempting to uncover "sources of Soviet terrorism" and of "modern terrorism in general." The anti-Soviet professor is reiterating the old ravings about "militaristic tendencies" in Russia's history, about the "aggressiveness of Marxism-Leninism" and so forth.

The slanderous campaign about the socialist nations' support of "international terrorism" has assumed truly global scope. P. Botha, prime minister of the racist Republic of South Africa, refers to the South African liberation fighters as nothing other than "terrorist groups directed from abroad." The Israeli aggressors and their oversea patrons describe fighters of the Palestine resistance movement, and Salvadoran reaction--members of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front, as "terrorists." In Turkey imperialist propaganda centers are spreading false statements for purposes of provocation to the effect that terrorism in that nation is incited by Turkish communists with the encouragement of the Soviet Union. Italian reaction attempts to lump together the terrorism of extremist gangs directed against democratic institutions and the national liberation movement.

It can be stated most definitely that we are dealing with large-scale political diversion on the part of leading circles of the Western powers, first and foremost the USA. It is calculated, first of all, to discredit the peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist nations, to make the Western community distrust it; in the second place, to distort the nature of the national liberation movements, to label them as "international terrorism" and then endeavor to "prove" that the assistance provided the national liberation movements by the socialist states is actually support of "international terrorism"; and finally, under the pretext of a struggle against "international terrorism," to give themselves a free hand for imperialist interference in the internal affairs of other states, primarily those in which reactionary, dictatorial or openly fascist regimes are being shaken by pressure from the popular masses.

Behind all this one cannot fail to see Washington's long-term strategic goal--to destroy the process of international detente and to justify a new round of militaristic preparations and the negative position occupied by the American administration with respect to strategic arms limitations and other measures aimed at preserving peace on our planet.

The complete theoretical groundlessness of the myth being spread by imperialist reaction about the participation of socialist nations, primarily the Soviet Union, in "international terrorism" is perfectly apparent to every unbiased person. It is also clear that imperialism's politicians and ideologists are deliberately ignoring the indisputable fact that terrorism is fundamentally contrary to Marxist-Leninist doctrine and to the practical activities of the communist parties.

It is well known that K. Marx and F. Engels, the founders of scientific communism, were resolutely opposed to all sorts of political conspiracies and encroachments, against putsch-type tactics. From youth V.I. Lenin was against terrorist methods of struggle. V.I. Lenin wrote in 1916: "...our experience with revolution and counter-revolution in Russia has confirmed the correctness of our party's more than twenty years of struggle against terror as a tactic" ("Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol. 30, p. 182).

Following the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, the CPSU and the Soviet state have always been and remain thoroughly opposed to the theory and practice of terrorism, including terrorism in international relations. Terrorism is organically alien to the outlook of the Soviet people and the policy of the USSR.

"The USSR," reads a TASS statement of 3 February 1981, "has opposed and still opposes acts of terrorism, which entail the senseless killing of people and disrupt the diplomatic work of states and their representatives, the normal course of international contacts and meetings and transport communications among states.

"When matters of combatting terrorism are discussed at international forums, it has been the USSR which has insisted that the most stringent measures be adopted to eliminate particularly air piracy. This can certainly not be said of the United States, which, together with certain other Western nations, has resisted the adoption of effective measures to combat skyjackers."

With their unproved, false accusations that the Soviet Union supports "international terrorism," imperialism's politicians and ideologists are attempting to shift the blame from the guilty to the innocent. After all, it is not the Soviet Union and not the national liberation movement which bear responsibility for the development of centers of tension, for the cult of power being spread in the international arena by certain circles of the West, for acts of terrorism with which certain states are forced to deal. Imperialism's activities and policy, first of all those of monopolistic circles in the USA, provide fertile soil for despotism, violence and acts of terrorism internationally. Terrorism has become widespread within the United States of America itself, where the Ku Klux Klan, a sinister racist organization, and numerous openly neo-Nazi and Zionist terrorist organizations which commit hundreds of politically motivated murders operate practically unhindered. According to official American sources around 20,000 murders are committed in the USA each year.

There are two trends in the terrorism which has now beset many capitalist nations. First there is the right-wing terrorism, terrorism of the fascist type. This is the terrorism, for example, of ultraright neo-fascist and fascist organizations in the FRG, Italy, Spain and Great Britain. In many Latin American countries, along with repressive actions carried out by punitive agencies of the state, large-scale terrorism is perpetrated by armed gangs supported and financed within these nations by a land-owning oligarchy and large capital, and from outside by multinational corporations and the U.S. CIA. Fascist and semi-fascist organizations such as the "Patria y Libertad" in Chile, "Tres A" (Argentina's anticommunist alliance), "Orden" in Salvador, the Secret Anticommunist Army in Guatemala, Death Squads in Brazil and others serve as an instrument of political terrorism in ultraright circles.

The second kind of terrorism--"ultraleft" terrorism--which is openly reactionary, has manifested itself especially vividly in recent years. Ostensibly aimed at shattering the capitalist system, "leftist" terrorism is becoming increasingly like that practiced by right-wing extremist parties and groups, as demonstrated particularly by the criminal activities of the Red Brigades in Italy and the Red Army Faction in the FRG. The facts show that right-wing and "leftist" terrorism is being actively utilized for the subversive, anticommunist, counterrevolutionary objectives of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency and the intelligence agencies of other capitalist states.

American propaganda's identification of the sacred right of peoples to struggle for freedom from imperialist oppression with "international terrorism" is totally invalid and groundless. To do so is to ridicule the aspirations of hundreds of millions of people in Asia, Africa and Latin America, who have struggled and are still struggling against colonialism, against imperialist interference and for a new life, for human dignity. To do so is to assert that the dozens of new states which have come into being on the three continents of our planet as a result of the peoples' determined struggle for their freedom and independence are nothing other than a "product of terrorism."

The identification today of the national liberation movement with "international terrorism" indicates either a lack of understanding of the objective laws underlying the development of human society or a deliberate attempt to take the world back to the times of colonial empires. A parallel can only be drawn between these two totally different developments out of ignorance or by malicious design.

Likewise, to describe the support provided the national liberation movement by the Soviet Union and other socialist nations as encouragement of "international terrorism" is to maliciously distort the goals and policy of the communist parties.

While capitalism has spread its dominion by sword and fire, socialism does not need wars for spreading its principles. The socialist states influence the development of the world revolutionary process primarily with their economic successes, by the force of the example provided by the new social order, which is naturally replacing capitalism.

The decisive support provided the national liberation movement by the socialist nations in no way means that national liberation revolutions can be exported. National liberation rebellions and wars are not brought in from outside but are created by the very system of imperialism, which is based upon the enslavement and oppression of other peoples. V.I. Lenin stressed the fact that imperialism exacerbates the oppression of nations and "as a result of this national uprisings and national wars are not only possible and probable but are absolutely inevitable..." ("Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol. 34, p. 363).

Is it not apparent that the national liberation rebellions by peoples of the colonies and dependent nations would not have occurred, had the disgraceful system of colonial oppression not existed? And not one of these rebellions would have turned into a war, had the colonizers not resorted to the armed suppression of peoples engaging in a just struggle, had they not attempted by armed means to deprive these peoples of the right to free and independent development.

Attempts by imperialism's ideologists to find contradictions between the policy of peaceful coexistence pursued by the Soviet Union and the other socialist nations and their support of the peoples' liberation, including armed, struggle for their freedom, independence and social progress are therefore futile.

The principle of peaceful coexistence covers only relations between states with different sociopolitical systems and in no way indicates the rejection of support for national liberation movements, regardless of their form--forceable or peaceful. The policy of peaceful coexistence does not conflict with the right of oppressed peoples to take the path--armed or unarmed--which they consider necessary in their struggle for liberation, and to no degree does it indicate support for reactionary regimes. Equally certain is the fact that every people has the indisputable right to armed defense against the encroachments of imperialist aggressors and to support from other peoples in this just cause.

The basic revolutionary processes presently occurring convincingly demonstrate the fact that anyone today calling for the retention and all the more, the restoration, of social and colonial oppression has lost the sense of reality, because it would be impossible to retain the "status quo" of imperialism and colonialism by any forces or means whatever.

Nor are there serious grounds for the assertion made by imperialist ideologists that the distinctions between civil and national liberation wars, on the one hand, and wars between states, on the other, are presently disappearing. This assertion denies the legality and justice of liberation rebellions and wars, and labels as "aggression" against the notorious "free world" any armed uprising of peoples against colonial oppression or puppet dictatorial regimes.

Imperialist reaction would like to assume the right to determine what social system should be established in this or that country, regardless of what its people want. If peoples want to effect democratic reforms and rid themselves of foreign oppressors, in the logic of monopolistic capital's ideologists, the imperialist states have the right to declare any region to be an area of their "vital interests," to send forces there and establish regimes suitable to them by armed force.

National liberation wars cannot be identified with the wars unleashed by the imperialists to seize the territory of others, to enslave and rob other peoples. Unlike imperialist wars, national liberation wars begin as uprisings by oppressed peoples against their oppressors. In such uprisings a people is struggling to exercise its right to self-determination, struggling for its social and independent national development.

It should be born in mind that the selection of means and forms in the liberation movement depends not on the desire of the peoples alone. It is determined by the ratio of class forces and depends upon the resistance offered by the colonizers, upon the degree of force which they use in their attempts to retain their supremacy. There is not a single people interested in the use of forceable means of struggle, since force always involves large losses, primarily among the working masses. Many peoples have therefore begun their struggle for independence by peaceable means, but repression and terror on the part of the colonizers have forced them to take up arms, to meet force with force.

The program adopted by the South African Communist Party in 1962, for example, stated that in the past national liberation organizations had promoted peaceful means of struggle to avoid civil war. In the situation of racist terror, however, the liberation movement was forced to reconsider its attitude toward the avoidance of force, which at the new stage of the struggle was harming the cause of the national democratic revolution and depriving the people of arms in the face of cruel repression on the part of the oppressors.

In Namibia the South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO), recognized by the U.N. General Assembly as the true representative of Namibia's people, has striven for national independence by the most diverse kinds of political actions, including diplomatic steps and peaceful negotiations. Racists in the Republic of South Africa, however, have no desire to put an end to the nation's illegal military-colonial occupation by means of a political settlement. And Namibia's people have no choice but to engage in armed struggle against the colonizers.

It is clear to every sober-minded person that it is one thing when oppressed peoples employ force to eliminate national or social oppression and quite another when force is used by colonizers to keep peoples in bonds and to consolidate their supremacy. The following words of V.I. Lenin have an extremely current ring even today: "... when the 'real essence' of a war consists, for example, in eliminating oppression by another nation... then a war on the part of the oppressed state or nation is a progressive one. If the 'real essence' of a war lies in the repartitioning of colonies, the dividing up of plunder, the robbing of other lands... then the term 'protecting the homeland' is 'total deception of the people'" ("Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol. 30, p. 82).

Nor is there any real basis for attempts by imperialist circles to describe national liberation or social revolutions as "terrorism" on the grounds that they are achieved "by means not prescribed by law," thereby justifying the imperialists' export of counterrevolution.

Revolutions do not need the "permission" of any authorities whatsoever. They are an objective and inevitable result of the development of any antagonistic society, a result which nobody is capable of rescinding. "An appeal for lawfulness," V.I. Lenin stressed, "cannot restrain the old authorities, which themselves always made the laws and which are struggling for their existence with the worst, the most desperate, barbarous and frantic means" ("Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol. 13, pp. 198-199). This point of view has been and is still held not only by the communists but by all fighters for independence and freedom.

The lawfulness and justness of the liberation movement has been established in many international documents today. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Nations and Peoples adopted by the U.N. General Assembly back in 1960 states the following: "All armed actions and repressive measures of any kind directed against dependent peoples must be halted, in order to make it possible for them to exercise in a situation of peace and freedom their right to total independence, and the territorial integrity of their national territories must be respected." These are the principles which must be applied as guidelines by all states without exception in their treatment of the peoples' struggle for national liberation.

New colonialism's apologists crudely slander the moving forces behind national liberation uprisings and wars, maintaining that the armed struggle of oppressed peoples is inspired and directed by closed conspiratorial groups isolated from the broad masses of the population. The matter can only be interpreted in this manner for purposes of deliberate falsification. Irrefutable historical facts attest that national liberation uprisings and wars are mass popular movements, which have nothing in common with the adventurist actions of conspiratorial, putch-type groups. "Any one who calls such an uprising a putch," V.I. Lenin wrote, "is either an evil reactionary or a doctrinaire person hopelessly incapable of perceiving a social revolution as a vital development" ("Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol. 30, p. 54).

Reactionary sociologists attempt to compromise the liberation movements, to depict them as senselessly cruel rebellions. They deliberately stress the violent forms of revolutionary struggle, attempt to depict terror as practically the main form of struggle in the liberation movements and accuse the rebels and partisans of "immorality" and "cruelty." Imperialist propaganda prefers to remain silent about the fact that the oppressed peoples resort to violent forms of just struggle as a forced means of achieving liberation and overthrowing reactionary regimes imposed upon them by force.

Numerous recent instances indicate that American imperialism, by advancing the false slogan of combatting "international terrorism," is attempting as in the past to play the role of a sort of guarantor and protector of the international system of exploitation and oppression. Brandishing this slogan, imperialism's politicians and ideologists are attempting "to impose a ban" on the liberation movement of peoples, to preserve existing relationships between the oppressed and the oppressors, to keep corrupt colonial and dictatorial regimes in power.

It is a well-known fact that the American imperialists and their accomplices made a considerable effort to undermine the Geneva Agreements on Vietnam and to prevent universal, free elections in that country as specified by the agreements. Ruling circles in the IEA opposed proponents of the restoration in the Dominican Republic of a legally elected constitutional government overthrown by force. In the Congo and Chile interference by the imperialists resulted in the removal of legal governments. For a long time imperialist reaction helped to retain the racist Smith regime in Southern Rhodesia, until the liberation put an end to it with force. At the present time Washington is providing generous assistance to El Salvador's military-facist junta, contrary to the will of the nation's popular masses and the determined protests of the international community. Using American weapons, Salvadoran reaction has unleashed cruel terrorism against the true patriots. More than 3,500 people have died in the nation as a result of terrorism this year alone.

In the IEA and other imperialist states subversive, diversionary actions have been elevated to the level of official policy. Political murders, terror, diversions and conspiracies are a constant part of the arsenal of the imperialist cartels. Between 1961 and 1977 the U.S. CIA, with the approval of the American administration, conducted around 900 large-scale, secret operations against individual "undesirable" figures and against entire governments. "Over the past 35 years," the newspaper NEW YORK TIMES has stated, "our government has regularly employed terrorism as an instrument of its foreign policy."

American special services are arming, training and financing hundreds of counterrevolutionary terrorists entrenched in the USA, who fled from the Latin American nations of Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada and others.

The policy of those who violate the legal rights and interests of sovereign peoples, who sow the ideology of racial and national hatred, provides fertile soil for despotism, violence and terrorism in the international arena. It is with the support of imperialists of the Western powers, primarily the USA, that the world still has states conducting an antipopular, terroristic policy of stifling national liberation movements. They include the Republic of South Africa, a bastion of colonialism in the southern part of Africa, where the rights and freedoms of the indigenous population are cruelly suppressed and from which the sovereignty and security of neighboring states are constantly threatened. They include Israel, which has become an outpost of American imperialism in the Near East and is actually performing the role of suppressor of the liberation struggle of that region's peoples. They include South Korea, where the pro-American dictatorial regime recently drowned in blood a popular liberation movement, with overseas support. They include the fascist regime in Chile, military-dictatorial regimes in El Salvador and a number of other countries, which are conducting a policy of genocide against their own peoples.

Nor can one fail to see the fact that with its false slogan of combatting "international terrorism" American imperialism has clearly wanted to give itself a free hand to suppress national liberation movements in any area of the globe. The 26th CPSU Congress pointed out that aggressive imperialist circles "have truly set themselves the goal of achieving the unattainable--of setting up a barrier to progressive changes in the world and regaining the role of rulers of the destinies of peoples."

Vain attempts! All efforts to halt the onward course of history, to hinder the peoples' attempts to gain freedom and independence, are doomed to failure. However, the peace-loving peoples should not underestimate the danger of international imperialist reaction's aggressive colonization designs, which can further exacerbate international tensions and increase the danger of war. It is precisely for this reason that the alliance between the national liberation movement and progressive forces of the world, first and foremost world socialism, and the unity and solidarity of all fighters of the powerful, anti-imperialist front are becoming even more important.

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PERCEPTIONS, VIEWS, COMMENTS

VIEWS ON U.S., NATO AWAC SYSTEMS

Moscow ZNAMENOSETS in Russian No 4, Apr 81 (signed to press 23 Mar 81) p 27

[Article by Engr-Col (Res) B. Fedorov, "Aerial Conductor"; from materials in the foreign press]

[Text] In whipping up the arms race instead of limiting it, the NATO strategists are devoting considerable attention to the development of long-range radar detection aviation (DRLO). As is noted in the foreign press, aircraft of this type have gone through several stages in their development: radar scanning of air space and warning friendly aircraft about the enemy in the past, and the solution of an entire complex of problems at present. The contemporary DRLO system is capable of accomplishing not only the functions of a PVO [air defense] post, but also of controlling strike aircraft on a broad front. The "aerial conductor," as the foreign specialists call it, can detect means of attack from the air in a very short time and transmit their coordinates to ground PVO posts, guide friendly fighters to targets, lead aircraft to be refuelled to the zone of the tanker, conduct radio countermeasures against the enemy's air defense, and a number of other missions.

The military-industrial circles of the NATO countries are allocating tremendous sums for the development of these systems. Several types of flying radars are now known, including the Grumman E-2C "Hawkeye" in the inventory of the U.S. Navy, the Army [sic] "Boeing" E-3A, and the British aircraft "Nimrod" AFW.

Formerly, operations on protecting U.S. ships were assigned to the DRLO aircraft Grumman E-2A "Hawkeye." This aircraft participated in combat operations in Southeast Asia. A total of 62 such aircraft were constructed. At the beginning of the 1970's, the aircraft Grumman E-2C "Hawkeye" began to arrive in the inventory of the U.S. Navy equipped with a new type of radar and an improved digital computer (TsVM), passive detection system, and a new inertial navigation system. In contrast to preceding modifications, the E-2C is able to detect airplanes and cruise missiles not only above the surface of water, but also above land. The aircraft's radar provides for the tracking of more than 300 targets simultaneously above a smooth water surface. However, its capabilities are significantly reduced over land. The range for detection of aerial targets at an altitude of 900 meters is about 320 kilometers.

The combat information center which is on board is a transmission link between the carrier task force and the aircraft which are in the air. Commands to intercept aerial objectives and launch strikes on ground targets are transmitted through

a system of the decimeter band directly to the aircraft autopilots. Here, one-way communications between the E-2C "Hawkeye" and three squadrons is provided.

The aircraft "Shackleton" AFG-2 was in the inventory of the British Navy for the past 10 years. Its crew, which consists of 10 men (of them four radar operators) conducts radio reconnaissance, identification, and communication with ground and ship PVO posts. The performance characteristics of the aircraft permit it to go out to a distance of up to 1,600 kilometers and to patrol for six hours. The detection range of the airborne radar is about 370 kilometers.

Since 1971, the development of the "Nimrod" aircraft has been taking place in Britain. Created by the (Marconi-Ellnot) firm, the radar is not inferior to the American radar of the E-2C aircraft in its qualities. The installation of DRLO equipment led to design changes in the fuselage. Two antennas located in its front and rear sections scan air space. This principle of separate scanning was employed for the first time in world practice and, as the British point out, it has many advantages. Further modification of the system and its testing were conducted during the last two years. In the opinion of foreign specialists, the "Nimrod" aircraft should be adopted in the inventory in 1981.

From the end of the 1960's, the United States began the development of a new system of long-range radar detection with great capabilities, the AWACS. In its tactical version, it is intended for controlling the operations of the Tactical Air Force which operates against aerial and ground targets. The AWACS system can provide scanning for altitudes from 0 to 20,000 meters and at ranges greater than 300 kilometers. During one pass of the airplane-carrier along the front line, the system is able to identify more than 600 targets at a depth of 40-80 kilometers. It accomplishes the simultaneous vectoring of 15 friendly interceptors. The opinion is expressed that 5 aircraft equipped with the system can replace 27 existing aircraft with the same function, two ground radars, and 1 ship radar patrol.

The basic aircraft of the AWACS system is the "Boeing-707-320." It has a crew of 17 men. Of them, 13 work with electronic equipment. Four turbofan engines, each with a maximum thrust of 9,500 kilograms, are installed on the aircraft. Patrolling speed is 0.5-0.6 M. The practical ceiling is 10,500 meters. Maximum range of flight is 10,000 kilometers. Patrolling time without refuelling is five to seven hours. Takeoff weight is about 146,000 kilograms, of which 15,800 kilograms are for electronic equipment.

External changes of the aircraft E-3A in comparison with the basic aircraft include: the presence of a radome for the surveillance radar antenna, special placement of the light port and doors and the device for refuelling, and a number of antennas for the airborne electronic systems.

The basis of the AWACS system is the surveillance radar. The station's antenna is a flat slotted waveguide array with a size of 7.3 x 1.52 meters. It is placed in a radome with lamellar construction. The radar radome is installed on two pylons at a height of 3.35 meters above the fuselage behind the central portion of the wing. The radar's operating range is 900 kilometers.

The information processing system includes eight digital computers with a total memory capacity of 100,000 words and an operating speed of 1 million addition operations per second. The computer systems are intended for the conversion of video signals to digital form, determination of target altitude and stabilization of the radar beam, identification of targets, and tracking them. In addition, the computer performs extrapolation and storage of target trajectories, automatic tracking, and communication with the guidance system's computer.

The communication and data transmission equipment is an intricate complex which consists of powerful transmitters and sensitive receivers. The communication equipment includes two URG-11 shortwave radios with built-in checking circuits, three radios of the meter band, and two radios of the decimeter wavelength band. Control of all communication equipment with the selection of the corresponding channels will be accomplished from each operator's control panel. The distribution of channels by frequency and operating time as well as automatic switching using computers are envisaged for this purpose.

To increase the jamming immunity of the means for transmitting data to ground and airborne stations, a method is used which ensures communication between objects during time intervals with a duration of less than 3 m/s [sic].

A recognition interrogator is installed on the aircraft. The AWACS system operator has the capability to determine the affiliation of all targets which are in the radius of action of the interrogator as well as the range, azimuth angle, and altitudes. This information, together with radar data, can be used for early detection of targets, tracking interceptors, and controlling air traffic.

The E-3A aircraft underwent troop tests in November 1976. According to the conclusion of the Air Force command, the DRLO aircraft coped with its mission.

The NATO military strategists consider the program for the development of the AWACS radar detection and guidance system as one of the most important. The fabulous cost of this program does not embarrass them. For the E-3A aircraft alone, according to modest estimates, costs 137-147 million dollars. So that the taxpayers must again tighten the belts a little tighter to please the imperialists' aggressive plans.

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